Mo /18 cont'd/
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agreements for mutual exchange of women. The respective members of the two clans that had entered on such agreement called each other "Kuda"...." /Cited in English./

Mo
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The word Kuda is found as goda in the Monguor dialect as in all the other Mongol dialects; among the Monguor it has lost its primary sense. The custom according to which the members of two clans exchanged girls in marriage no longer exists. The word guda today is the name which the members of two families related by the marriage of one of their children give to each other.

Mo
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The conclusion then will be that we see the law of exogamy practiced largely mitigated by that of endogamy, which causes many wives, even in our day, to be taken from among the daughters of paternal aunts. (2)

2. I do not believe it is necessary to refer to totemism in order to explain the law of exogamy which presides over marriages among the T'ou-jen. The conditions of nomadic life amply provide an explanation for this practice; secondly, exogamy is not essentially totemic; thirdly, totemism among the Mongols in general has not been proved. When we deal with religious life among the T'ou-jen, we shall see, nevertheless, two facts which may attract attention to this question: we shall see the erection of the pole at the festivals given after planting; and we shall have two youth festivals.

Mo
[771]

/23 cont'd/

584 787 the family of the fiancée will not neglect also to have the case examined by competent people. If there is a discrepancy between the two predictions, a third examination will be held.

If the alliance is sincerely desired on both sides, the solution will be quickly satisfactory; for the diviner knows the people he is dealing with.

In the opposite case, the examiner, a diplomat when necessary, will give an ill-omened solution, and the marriage will be shelved. This is a good way for one side to politely refuse a marriage proposal, and for the other to understand the refusal, without loss of face.

They say that nobody would dare do without this preliminary rite. This is easy to believe for anyone who is aware of the /24/ mania of this people for consulting fate for all events of any importance, all the more when it is a question, under the circumstances, of an act with such grave and far-reaching consequences...and in spite of everything, they often disregard this when the proposed match has won their approval.

584 793 [771] But by whom is this horoscope read?

The yellow lamas and the shamans, in Monguor bo, are never consulted, although lamaism and shamanism are the T'ou-jen's own religions. On this occasion they have recourse to the Chinese Ing-lang sien-cheng /lit., practitioner of Yin and Yang/ (diviner) or to the lamas of the red sect. The reason for this choice has always remained a mystery to me; no T'ou-jen was able to explain it.

584 This formality carried out, the father or mother of the future bridegroom, on the occasion of a visit to the parents of the future bride, proposes the marriage. The answer having been favorable, 583 "the mother alone" goes to the home of the family of the future 584 daughter-in-law to offer the parents eight, ten, or 12 steamed rolls (it must always be an even number), four feet of red cloth, a pair of shoes for the little daughter-in-law, and several lengths of red cord, which are customarily plaited into a girl's braids.

They take tea, they chat, the little chosen one presents herself, they talk of marriage, and the future mother-in-law takes her leave. The gifts have been accepted, the girl has presented

M /50 cont'd/
585 Why is the maternal uncle invited to stand near the girl during the
614 whole speech, and why does the maternal clan have precedence at
604 the festivity and at the dinner? Why is the paternal clan in the very background all this day, when it is nevertheless the one which is giving its daughter in marriage and which has the duty to defend her? Also abnormal is this custom which fixes only the gifts to be offered to the girl by the maternal aunts and uncles and not those to be given by her paternal uncles and aunts. Finally, why attach more importance to this festivity than to the one at the son-in-law's home?

M
585 Let us remember that this ceremony is held around a shamanistic
795 fire and not before an image of Buddha, although Buddhism is with-
771 out question the primary religion of the country, and that in spite of the fact that the whole clan includes numerous lamas among its members, shamanism is actually the old religion of the T'ou-jen.

M
585 Let us note again that the master of ceremonies, when he takes the floor, recalls the faraway past in which the daughter still inherited from her parents half as much as a son. One would say it was a history lesson.

We are here in the presence of a very old ceremony, one which is completely abnormal in a patriarchal organization.

M After the speech and the girl's departure, the guests are in-
[262] vited to sit down; gin is served, and they play mora noisily; they sing and smoke while waiting for the Chinese noodles to be served.

M /51/ The master of ceremonies arranges the gifts in chests,
585 and all the pieces are numbered, so that the next day at the dinner
583 at the son-in-law's home, when he again takes the floor, he can take them out without difficulty. (1)

HM
585 1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 308: (Mongols) As soon as the livestock has been delivered to the future wife's father (the German translation of the same work says that he himself comes to the future husband's home to get them), he gives a feast which is soon reciprocated by the husband-to-be for the relatives and

[9 cont.]

115 that is, mountain spirit, because he was consecrated to the
[776] mountain spirit when he was named. He was born under the sign
553 of the sheep, that is, in the second month; according to
European reckoning, this would be March, 1883.

805 Like all Tujen, the old man is a Lamaist and adheres
[771] to the faith and the customs of his fathers. He is known throughout the vicinity as one of the few who are still very well versed in the traditional customs. For that reason he is asked to perform everywhere as master of ceremonies, festive speaker, overseer of sacrifices, and singer. If anyone in that region is asked about usages and customs, the usual answer is: "Go to old Tuo, he knows it best."

115 In addition he has the advantage, rare among the Tujen,
212 of having completed the Chinese classical school. He can read
[871] and write very well, better than most of his Chinese neighbors. He understands without difficulty history books, classical authors, local chronicles, etc., which in part are written in the literary
[191] language. He does not have a sufficient command of the Fandse language to be able to speak it fluently, but he knows the terms of the lamas and is able to distinguish fairly well as to whether a word is a genuine Tujen word or a Fandse word. He himself in his youth took down in Chinese characters a considerable number of Fandse songs, which he can translate and explain, as well as some legends and speeches. He claims that formerly the Tujen language was also written and that the script has simply been lost. -- He does not speak the language of the Koko
115 Nor Mongols, but he claims that it could be understood if neces-
191 sary. Of course the Tujen live too far away from the Mongols;
[648] only those in the vicinity of Huchu have a loose connection with the Mongols on the Tai-t'ung River beyond the Monastery Kuo-mang-szu.

124 [10] In the beginning it was not easy to persuade the old man, who for 20 years had not even been in nearby Sining, to visit me at the mission station at Kan-chia-pu, although the way there was only a two-hour ride. In the late fall of 1946 he came once for only a day. At that time I questioned him about the harvest thank-offering; the result was an article which appeared in Anthropos, 37/40. The old man could not imagine what I

3: Schröder--309 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

Conclusion*

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* For the first part of this work, see Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 1-79, 620-658, 822-870 [the "First Part" above in the HRAF translation]. A supplement to the bibliogtaphy there, pp. 2-4 [see foreign text; the bibliography was not reproduced for the translation], will be found at the end of this article; see below p. 259 [see foreign text].

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Second Part: Analysis

An all-round picture of the Tujen religion can only be drawn within the frame of a broader cultural view, for which the other records from the rich treasure of legends and songs are also utilized. Over and above this, a judgment concerning the cultural and religious historical-relationships requires a comparison [171] with the neighboring Chinese, Tangut, Mongols, and Yugur (1).

[174]

1. A comparison with both the eastern part of north China (Tungus) and the southwest would also be very informative. The tradition of the Tujen speaks of an eastern origin, and the peoples upon whom they are superimposed in the present-day Amdo originally belonged to the Ch'iang, of whom large parts migrated toward the south into present-day Kham, Szechwan, and Yunnan. This conception has been advocated for a long time by the Chinese; cf. Jen Nai-Ch'iang-Schröder: Die Fandse, pp. 1 f. It has now been confirmed by Professor Doctor J. F. Rock for the Na-khi. A comparison

[202 cont.]

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with their religion is justified all the more since it has preserved the pre-Buddhistic form in a much less corrupted state than the religion of the mother country, which lies within the effective range of the Yellow Church (Kumbum); see below, pp. 390 ff. In addition the Na-khi possess a religious literature in which the old customs are unequivocally fixed, and which J.F.Rock has worked over and published; for this whole subject, cf. J.F.Rock, Na-khi Kingdom; id., Naga Cult, I, pp. 2 f., and Muan Bpō, p. 7. Unfortunately, these works, which represent a treasure trove for knowledge of the pre-Buddhist belief in the Chinese-Tibetan border region, could not be adequately quoted here.

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It is true that in the notes of the first part extensive consideration was given to this, so that now it is already established that the religion of the Tujen and of their Lamaistic neighbors do not differ from each other in many ways. A further analysis and summary of the question, however, [203] would grow into a series of special essays that would go too far beyond this work, which, after all, is primarily intended to be a survey.

The present material, however, is ample enough to characterize the basic features of the religious framework, which even a later and more precise treatment will scarcely change. This characterization will be attempted in a cross- and longitudinal section. The one offers a total picture of the religious world-view; the other shows the more or less interpenetrating layers of the religion.

[211 cont.]

772 the many riddle-songs of the Tujen, when they sing of the tree,
[533] which bears the sun, moon, and stars in its crown; cf., for example, Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder," loc. cit., Song I and II.
[171] Further connections will be passed over here. Only the great similarity of these songs to the wedding songs of western Tibet will be mentioned; see Francke, Tibetische Hochzeitslieder [Tibetan Wedding Songs].

772 With this harmonious conception of the world and its
779 close connection with human beings, one would also expect a projection of the macrocosm into the microcosm. In Lamaism, of course, these correspondences are carried through to the smallest detail and find their symbolic representation in the well-known syllable-monogram, the rnam bču dbaṅ idan; in this connection, cf. Filchner (Unkrig), Kumbum, pp. 160 f. These minute correspondences of the Lamaist monks, however, are too artificial for the people. They know nothing about them. Security in the great cosmos in which they literally build suffices for them. This world-feeling does not enter into sophisticated speculations.

[212] 3. The Religious Cult

a) The Basic Psychic Attitude

771 The inner attitude of the people toward the good spirits
776 is the consciousness of dependence upon them. They determine the well-being in this world, which, after all, is the focal point of thought, for one does not think much about the beyond. Hence the first thing a person does when misfortune or an unusual situation surprises him is to turn to a spirit, a mightier being, which can help here. How much this attitude dominates the common man is apparent from the above-mentioned basic thoughts of the informant, which provided the articulation of all the customs: "... now I shall tell you first what we do for the good fortune of the family, etc."; cf. "Introduction," Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 15 [p. 16 above in the HRAF translation]. Everything is thereby subordinated to the religious

[212 cont.]
771 utilitarian idea. The Tujen give their offerings and prayers in
776 order to make the spirit world favorably inclined toward them
for the purpose of earthly well-being. They are not so submis-
[782] sive to the harmful demons, however, but instead face them
[789] with greater hostility and try to vanquish them with the help
of the good spirits or through magic.

b) The Offering

The Types of Offering

782 The Tujen distinguish the following types according to what is offered: the incense offering, food and drink offering, slaughtered offering, animal-consecration. -- Aside from the incense offering and the animal-consecration, they have a
[192] common name for the offering, namely, šeńlie, which corresponds to the Chinese hsien. Thus, they say, for instance, šdimie šeńlie-, to offer bread; tsidzig šeńlie-, to offer flowers; xonini šeńlie-, to offer a sheep (cf. DMF 376). This expression šeńlie may not be used for anything else.

The incense offering, which originally was an aromatic offering, has now been greatly extended by all kinds of additions, such as butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, silk threads. Here, too, however, the rule against giving anything that smells unpleasant is maintained. The use of butter and
[174] tsamba, which are the staple foods of the nomads there, implies an old pastoral custom. Concerning the original incense offering, cf. the chapter further below, "The Belief in a Supreme God."

The food offering principally includes bread, wine, butter, tsamba. One puts them down before the spirit, for instance, before the household altar, the obo, the mani-tree, the god's image, etc. When they are taken away and consumed, some is thrown to the deity concerned. Liquids are poured on the ground or squirted into the air. The custom of
[264] throwing something to the spirits before each meal belongs here, too.

[214 cont.]

782 This is intended to make him satisfied so that he will go away
776 and not return. Any feeling of awe and submissiveness, such as is characteristic towards a higher spirit and is manifested in the offering, is lacking. A similar notion of fear plays a contributing role here, which one also entertains for the souls of the dead, of whom it is expected that they will not molest human beings and will be content.

The Executers of the Offering

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771 All these offerings can be assigned primarily to the people as chief bearers. It is the most important religious activity of the ordinary people. It presupposes little, namely, a gift and an attitude. It requires no special schooling, no involved ritual, and no learning of prayers. The offerers are the family head, the seed-master, or the village elders. It is precisely these laymen themselves who at the purely Lamaistic ceremonies or those of the Bon and shamans perform the actual offering operation, for example, at the harvest thanksgiving festival and at the erection of the pole-goat or the central fort. Even the tormas, which, of course, can in part be regarded as offerings, are usually set up or carried outside by men from among the people.

c) The Prayer

782 The spontaneous and freely-formulated prayer is a natural matter-of-course among the Tujen. They are also conscious of this form of prayer when they maintain: "We farmers have forgotten our old prayers; everyone prays with his own words." (Cf. Schröder: "Herbst-Dankopfer [Harvest Thank-offering]," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-1945, p. 872.)

782 Besides these spontaneous utterances they also still know
788 simple, brief prayer formulas to heaven and the gods, as when they say, "Oh you spirits, do not be like human beings!" or when they uninterruptedly recite on their prayer-string "Om

[214 cont.]
782 mani padme hum," or when they turn to heaven with the old
788 saying, "Heaven knows." -- [215] They include these two types of prayer under the expression yandzila-, to implore, to request, and this is usually linked with the offering in order to express their attitude. The independent, pure prayer is quite rare.

The people are still not satisfied with this kind of prayer, however, but like to turn to the ritual, cultic prayer, for which
[463] there are the special professions of the priests: the Bon and the
[792] lamas and the Taoist monks. This is not to say that these are
[791] invited exclusively for the prayer, but how strongly the people connect praying with these professions is shown by the common designation that is used both among the Tujen and among the
[192] Chinese to differentiate them from the laity: nien-ching-ti jen, that is, praying person. This official praying is called luom mosĕ, to recite prayers, exactly as in the Chinese nien-ching. In the eyes of the people this is the classical, correct prayer, something rigidly formulated, recited according to definite rites, fixed by the sacred texts, like the sutra (luom) and the Chinese ching.

[463] Thus one can say that the offering primarily falls to the laity, but the praying to special professions.

4. Magic

789 I was unable to confirm hardly any true folk-magic.
756 There is a whole assortment of magic operations and the use of
[791] amulets, but in general the people fetch shamans, Taoist priests, Bon priests, and soothsayers for this. Since the main goal of magic is to ward off evil spirits, this task falls above all to the shamans, who, moreover, combat the demons with the help of their tutelary spirits. Thus, magic and shamanism are closely linked.

5. The Mixed Character of Tujen Religion

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174 The customs of the Tujen clearly show that we are not dealing with a simple form of belief, but with a multi-layered

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•771 174 structure that has developed in the course of centuries. It is similar to the religion of the Mongols generally, which Pallisen in his dissertation would like to designate as syncretism. This is found even more among the Kansu Mongols, the Tujen. This syncretism is understandable for two reasons, one psychological and one historical.

Viewed psychologically, the East Asian, including the Mongol, is inclined to negotiation, to compromise, and to understanding toleration. The informant has formulated this accurately: "All religions are good. The goal is the same, only the paths are different" (cf. "Introduction," Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 12)[p. 12 above in the HRAF translation]. One does not want to bind himself exclusively to one particular way, but wants to examine everything from a practical utilitarian viewpoint to see what is conducive to his happiness and well-being. One tries this with all the gods and is gladly prepared to take up into his heaven any useful spirit. Even Christianity in China would [216] long ago have fallen victim to this inclination, if it were not so decisively intent on a dogmatic and ritual separation. Otherwise one could soon rediscover it with its figures of saints, doctrines, and rites, say, in Lamaism, just as in actual fact such an influence is assumed from early Christian times.

The history and distribution of the Tujen has greatly favored this spiritual readiness and has brought them into close contact with the various religions. Whoever the original Tujen may be, all those who have reported about them are agreed that they have an active history of migration behind them and that their basic stock is Mongolic. Aside from their migrations, perhaps for several centuries in their present location, even if they have maintained their linguistic and racial peculiarities, they have had active intercourse with the most varied peoples, such as the Tangut, the former rulers of Amdo, with the Mongols of the various waves of invasion, and finally with the Chinese pressing in after them. Probably their original faith in pre-Lamaistic times was determined extensively by the Bon doctrine of the Tangut, until the Yellow Church from neighboring Kumbum then brought all Amdo under its influence. Finally,

[216 cont.]

771 Chinese civilization, which with agriculture also brought corre-
174 sponding religious customs with it, passed over them, even if it has only slightly penetrated into the religion.

771 This peculiar position, conditioned by history and en-
792 vironment, makes the religion of the Tujen a significant subject
174 in the religious history of Amdo and of the Chinese border region generally, so that it is actually no longer simply a matter of the religion of the Tujen alone. The Tujen monks seem to have been aware of this advantageous position and have actively taken part in the investigation of the forms of belief of the border land, especially that of Lamaism. Through this they have won a certain learned and religio-political influence. An example of this is given by Cybikov in his introduction to the "Lam rim c'en po" (pp. XVI-XVII, translated by W.A.Unkrig), where he speaks of the Ch'ang-chia hutukhtu, who, as is known, comes from the Tujen lamasery Erh-ku-lung: "But whatever the situation may be. The home of the Ch'ang-ch'a hutukhtus occupies such a position between China, Mongolia, the East Tibetans, the Tangut, and formerly also the Uigur, that it had to serve as an arena for the contact between these peoples and for the formation of a tribe in which is embodied the traits of all four of these peoples. If one takes a look at the present-day situation exclusively, without historical considerations, according to our view it has contributed greatly to the fact that these lamas had to gain enormous influence on Tibetan and Mongolic affairs and on the relationship of these peoples to the Manchu dynasty." I found this confirmed when I visited the lamasery there. If we also disregard the observation of Cybikov concerning the ethnic formation of the Tujen, it must nevertheless be admitted that this people has taken over many religious traits from its neighbors. It is therefore also no accident that it was precisely a Tulku (Tuguān
[538] hutukhtu) from the Tujen monastery [217] who in the eighteenth century wrote the only known Tibetan book about all the Tibetan sects, including the Bon. He had the most varied forms constantly and directly before his eyes, just as even today the religious customs of the Tujen still represent a living catalogue of patterns in this respect.

[217 cont.]

771 174 Now, concerning the elements which make up these customs, they fall almost entirely into four groups, each of which constitutes a special layer. These four layers are: the belief in a supreme god, shamanism, the Bon religion, and Lamaism. The layers, however, cannot simply be taken out of the whole structure, freed from all the extra features, and connected with a larger pervading stratum of the Central Asiatic religions. This is only possible in a larger context and would go beyond the bounds of this work, for the parts in question are of considerable temporal depth and embrace many peoples. In addition these layers have interpenetrated one another in that in each case the later one has absorbed the elements of the preceding ones. Thus, Lamaism, in spite of its original enmity toward the Bon religion, has nonetheless adopted much from it. The Bon faith, on the other hand, in turn has a strong shamanistic base, and an old sky-cult runs through all the layers.

771 128 756 A discussion of the two high religions, of the Bon and of Lamaism, in their connection with the belief of the Tujen would go too far. Shamanism can more readily be delimited, but it cannot be exhaustively presented either. So there remains the old sky-cult as a belief in a supreme god. This will be dealt with quite extensively in the following, whereas in the case of shamanism the presentation must be limited to a theoretical sketch. A special work will deal with it in detail for the whole western Chinese border region. The Bon religion and Lamaism will only be touched upon briefly.

II. The Layers of the Tujen Religion

1. The Belief in a Supreme God

114 771 In this section it is necessary to refer not only to the customs but also to the other sources and the scanty literature. Aside from the DMF and Mariage (by Schram), which offer a sparse yield for the religion, the other sources are still unpublished. [538] They are available in the original texts, however. These are the Geser legend, the agriculture legend, the Moschus deer (the first part of the song cycle known under the name xoni, sheep), and a series of other songs and fairy tales, of which the wedding songs are appearing (Folklore Studies, Tokyo, 1952).

[217 cont.]

771 776 The belief in a supreme god among the Tujen must have been known to the people themselves at an early date. Tafel noted in his fairly reliable chapter: "The Turen [sic] of Weiyüanpu are a very curious tribe. Many say that they have only one single god in which they believe. But they are, like the [218] Chinese, also Buddhists" (Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], I, p. 246). The author unfortunately does not tell who these "many" are. Probably they are the Tujen themselves. Tafel is right insofar as a true monotheism is unknown to the Tujen. On the other hand they do not share the same Buddhism with the Chinese. The Tujen are Lamaists, the Chinese, on the other hand, never or only as an exception. From the customs observed, it now appears incontestably that the so-called one god [821] of the Tujen is a supreme god who is venerated in the form of the heavens. One must, therefore, start from "heaven."

a) The Name "Heaven"

rẽǧuo

772 776 192 [821] For "heaven" the Tujen know two expressions, namely, rẽǧuo and tieńgëre. The word rẽǧuo is little used and then only in the sense of the physical sky, firmament. It agrees entirely with its Mongolic equivalent oktarǧui, which is to be equated with the Tibetan mk'a or nam mk'a or gnam, and means: sky, empty space above the air, firmament, vault of the heavens, ether, atmosphere, air. Cf. Kovalevski, p. 430. Even among the following expressions that include oktarǧui, there is none in which oktarǧui is comprehended as a deity or spirit. Cf. op. cit., pp. 430-433. Thus it must be sharply distinguished from tengri (tieńgëre) and cannot be used synonymously with the latter. Only in the sense of the physical sky do they overlap. Among the Tujen, reǧuo is chiefly regarded as light-sky, bearer of brightness. One therefore likes to add the adjective kuǧuo (blue, light, bright), for instance, kuǧuo rẽǧuo undurwa (the blue sky is high). The kuǧuo rẽǧuo (light sky) stands in contrast to the [825] [539] xara gadzier (dark earth). An appropriate bird is assigned to

[257 cont.]

792 went there. Pander speaks (op. cit., p. 204) of Man-tzu or Chinese from Sining, who were accommodated in 13 temples in Peking (1889). These Man-tzu (= barbarians), however, could only have been Tujen, for the Chinese are not Lamaists, and the Tibetans (Fan-tzu) are specifically named by Pander. The monastery Sung-chu-szu is regarded expressly as a Tujen lamasery. Even today (at least up until 1948) almost all its monks come from the Sining region and are Tujen, as the monks from this monastery related during a visit home. To be sure the number has shrunk greatly.

771 792 [788] [527] [796] [778] *These are all facts that must be taken into account in* judging the Lamaism of the Tujen. The people are proud of their famous monastery. It is their pilgrimage center. Young and old gather there at the festivals. They hold horse races and sing their old popular airs there. At the temple festivals with the magnificent dances the Lamist doctrine is deepened and clarified. In the venerable halls filled with incense they see their gods in magnificent statues, painted on silk, on walls and altars. There lie also the heavy sacred books of the Kandjur and Tandjur, which they bear on their backs around the sanctuary in order to free themselves from affliction or to fulfill a vow. In the temples and yards they watch the monks hold learned disputations, read the scriptures, recite the prayers. They invite them to undertake solemn religious services in their compounds, to give their children their names, to consecrate the old, [258] to bless the young, to pray for the dead, to cremate the corpses. The lama is a frequent and welcome guest in the family. Generally, the people seem to link themselves to the monastic life at the important stages of life. Even the shaman receives his consecration in the monastery. Every family was proud if one of its sons became a lama; indeed, it was even an unwritten law.

[574] [752] [778]

771 792 177 So it was, at least until the most recent times. Today, however, the young people no longer want to know anything about becoming a lama. They prefer to attend the Chinese schools and are intent on the new education. They despise the old and do not take it seriously anymore. What the

[258 cont.]

771 Minchu Hutukhtu wrote a hundred years ago in his "Geography
792 of Tibet" has already become true: "This home of the second
177 Victorious Tsongkhapa was at one time famous in all Tibet ... Now, however, it is not only under the pressure of the deluded Chinese and Mussulmanic doctrine, but there approaches the time when Tibetans and Mongols will believe the Kung-tzu, Lao-tzu, or the teacher Naniku of Ssei"; MS, loc. cit. If one thinks of the most recent events, even in that remote area, then one sees even this melancholy prophecy surpassed, for even the doctrines of a K'ung-tzu and Lao-tzu will no longer draw the Tujen into their jurisdiction. They, too, already belong to the past.

Conclusion

174 In the course of the work it became increasingly clear
771 that the religion of the Tujen no longer represents anything uniform and independent. Rather, it grew from roots of various origins into a colorful composite that is based on the varied past of the Tujen and their present-day homeland which lies in the middle between various peoples. In particular, however, Lamaism
[779] has fostered these international connections, even to Lhasa and Peking, and has contributed decisively to religious assimilation. In this respect, the Tujen share their fate with the neighboring peoples insofar as they are not Chinese. Their belief is linked to a common layer, which, as Lamaistic popular religion, extends over the entire area of influence of the Yellow Church. Thus, the principal questions raised earlier concerning shamanism, the Bon religion, the cult of heaven, etc. are not questions that can be resolved from the point of view of the Tujen alone. Their religion has a much more general significance. To be sure, a number of special characteristics can be established. These do not suffice, however, for drawing definite conclusions concerning the origin and ethnic affiliation of the people. And even less do they permit the delimitation of any individual Tujen groups, which certainly are present. As sources for such cultural-historical and ethnic relationships, almost

[258 cont.]

174 only the language with the folk literature still remains, perhaps
771 also the dress, but above all the tradition and the written history, which are chiefly contained in Chinese reports. This does not mean that the religion and ethnology are not to be considered; rather, they must be drawn upon in a complementary and explanatory fashion. [259] It is too late, however, to arrive at clear results in a purely folkloristic or ethnological way. That might still have been possible perhaps 50 years ago.

174 Now, however, the Sinicization of the Tujen approaches
177 its conclusion. For a long time with respect to religion they had
771 a strong support in the Lamaistic world and defied the Chinese influence, although they had taken over their agriculture many generations ago. Today, however, they have detached themselves from this support; indeed, the support itself has already become very decayed. The reasons for this cannot be discussed here. The Tujen are giving up themselves, their language, their religion. When their children have become grandparents, Chinese culture will again have incorporated into itself a new domain which will be differentiated from the other provinces only insofar as the Chinese proverb can be applied: "At ten miles the language is different, at a hundred the custom." -- And yet all are "Chinese." [The supplement to the bibliography appears here; see foreign text.]

4: Schram
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AE9 MonguorAE9

[For the materials on the social function of religion in Huang-chung, see category 116, pp. 157A-159B.]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

PREFACE

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The origin, history, and social organization of the Monguors were studied in Part I,[1] together with the family and economic life. Their religious life is here dealt with as Part II of the same study.

It is common knowledge that the private and public religious life of the Monguors is intensive, and that the Monguors are as fervently Lamaist as shamanist, and also practise rites belonging to neither of these religions.

In dealing with the Lamaism of the Monguors, the purpose is not to study the origin, the history, and the philosophy of Lamaism in general in Tibet and Mongolia; instead, in the first part of the study, emphasis is put on the historical frame within which Lamaism was diffused in the limited region of Huang-chung.

The study is based on local chronicles, the Chinese histories, and all available sources, and also on the experience of a long stay among the people. The author hopes that he has thus attained insight into the history of the introduction, growth, flourishing, and crises of Lamaism, depending on peculiar circumstances of persons, events, and times.

The part played by the Chinese emperors in the diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung will be noted, the reasons of the imperial policy explained, and the peculiar legal institutions that were established to promote Lamaism will be recorded.

Local history will provide the data regarding the times, the places, and the peculiar circumstances in which monasteries were founded, and will point to the outstanding position occupied by the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung, situated in the heart of the Monguor country north of the Hsining River. Erh-ku-lung surpassed all the lamaseries of the country for a century. Animated with prodigious activity it founded forty-two daughter lamaseries, enrolling a tremendous number of the Monguor male population in its institutions.

The local history will reveal also that some of the Monguor Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung were learned authors of books, and directors of the imperial committee for the translation of the Kanjur and Tanjur from Tibetan into Mongol and that important diplomatic missions in Tibet were entrusted to them by the emperors who appointed them as spiritual directors of the Mongol princes, and from whom they received honorary offices at the capital.

Their influence reached as far as Peking, Mongolia, and Tibet. The colleges of Erh-ku-lung were attended by lamas from Kansu, Mongolia, and Tibet who, upon returning to their own countries, founded monasteries on the pattern of Erh-ku-lung.

These historical facts will explain the influence exerted by the Monguor lamas upon Lamaism, and upon

[1] Louis M. J. Schram, The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Part I, Their origin, history, and social organization, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1), 1954.

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771 175 121 the population of Huang-chung. Note must be taken of these historical facts in order to explain the actual religious mentality of the people of Huang-chung.

In the same way historical events will explain the tremendous crises which affected Lamaism in Huang-chung, and the actual position it occupies in the Hsining country.

A chapter will deal with the organization of the lamaseries in Huang-chung, their material, educational, and religious aspects; their means of subsistence; the subjects of the lamaseries, branch monasteries, lamas, and living Buddhas. In this chapter, details of the numerical strength of lamas, in proportion to the population as a whole, are given. These figures throw light on a subject which has been somewhat distorted by past estimates. They show that the proportion of lamas to the total population is much lower than we have been led to expect. These figures are probably more reliable than those of past estimates; certainly they are more circumstantial.

[795] The inferior position of the Lamaism of the Red Sect in the region will also be better understood when put in its historical frame.

Similarly, the shamanism of the Monguors is approached from the angles of its peculiar connections with Taoism, the conservation of its ritual proper, and its historical connections with the "wuism" of old China and the shamanism of Central Asia. Emphasis is put also on its overwhelming importance in the religious life of the Monguors.

The second part of the study is devoted to the practical aspects of the religious life of the Monguors, its environment of fear and apprehension, and the role occupied in the fabric of daily life respectively by Lamaism and shamanism, and the various rites alien to both religions.

[114] The describing of monasteries, Lamaist monuments, iconography, programs of studies in colleges, theatrical exhibitions by lamas, festivities, and shamanist rites, has been avoided in this part, since all are encountered hundreds of times in books dealing with the subject. Instead, emphasis is put on the specific Monguor aspects of the religious life and rites that are peculiar to them, in order to understand the religious mentality of the representatives of the religions.

A chapter will deal with the death and burial customs, and still another with the cult of "Heaven and all the spirits."

The last chapter of the study will put stress on the often overlooked but important role played by religion in helping the Monguors to keep their identity, traditions and customs, strengthening the social structure of the clans, and preventing their absorption in the Chinese nation. [A, 1(B)]

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I. INTENSIVENESS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MONGUORS AND THE POSITION OF ITS FORMS

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC RELIGIOUS LIFE

The religious life of the Monguors is very intensive, and not a superficial veneer that scales off easily. Indeed, it has not only a private and a family characteristic, but a social and compulsory aspect, as well.

A missionary, accustomed to living with Chinese, is quite surprised when he comes among the Monguors, by their almost continuous recitation of *Om Mani Padme H'um*.[1] It is repeated by old and young, both men and women, hundreds of times a day, under all circumstances. The mind of the Monguor appears to be fixed on religion in a most unusual way. Mothers, kissing and cuddling their babies, like to say happily, over and over, "Om Mani," "Om Mani," as if thanking Buddha (*Avalokita*) for the baby. The sick, suffering on the *k'ang*,[2] find relief in sighing Om Mani the whole day, hoping to be cured. When hailstorms threaten crops, Om Mani will be said hundreds of times by every terrified farm family, in the hope that Buddha will make the wind change the course of the clouds. When someone in the village dies, all the villagers gather at night in the courtyard of the deceased, where they sit for many hours saying the Om Mani for the deceased.

[1] The formula *Om Mani Padme H'um* has always been and still is an enigma. All attempts to explain it remain unsatisfactory. Each lama of a sect, each student of things Tibetan has proposed his own explanation. It appears to be of Hindu origin and not Tibetan. Some trace its appearance in Tibet back to the eighteenth, fourteenth, and thirteenth centuries; and even to the seventh century. See P. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* 24: 395, 1924. The explanation of the formula seems to vindicate *mani padme* as a vocative of *Manipadma*, the proper name of a female deity.

[2] A small platform, two or three feet high, built with bricks, upon which the whole family sleeps, sits, talks, sews, etc. In the front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm.

twist their rosaries on their wrists, even in the city, or 781
to turn a small prayer wheel all day. While no one 788
understands the meaning of the prayer formula, the Monguor saying his Om Mani intends it as adoration to Buddha.

Religion is a family as well as an individual matter. 794
The chief of the family is its religious head and its rep- 782
resentative. He worships "Heaven and all the spirits" on the roof of the home or in its courtyard. It is his duty to honor the protector-deity of the family. Each family honors the image of its family protector-deity. At the time of the division of a family inheritance, it is the privilege and duty of the eldest son to continue worshipping the old family deity honored by his ancestors. The chief of the family is its representative at the performance of public rites. Attended by his family, he performs the rite of opening the fields in the spring to start farming; he gives orders for the worship of the various kind of spirits honored by the family—"the spirit of the hearth," "the spirit of the stables," etc.—and sets the example by praying the Om Mani and fingering his prayer beads.

The compulsory social aspect of the religious life of 794
the Monguors is evidenced by the fact that the chief of 622
the village and its elders administer both the official and religious life of the people in it. Even as they apportion land taxes among the villagers, according to wealth [65]
and productivity, so do they assess families a fixed sum for religious services. They impose corvées on the villagers for municipal functions as well as for such religious functions as protection against hailstorms or the sacred animal of the village. In the same manner, heads of families are summoned to participate in rites at the temple or on the top of the sacred mountain. The time of religious rites is fixed by the village chief. He performs the community thanksgiving rite just as the family chief does in his own circle.

The village chief is not the only organizer of religious [614]
life in the village. The chief of the clan is its promoter. It is he who offers sacrifice at the clan's ancestor rite. On his triennial visit, the clan chief brings the image of the protector-deity of the clan, so that each village may fulfill its duty of honoring it. He makes inquiry about public worship in the village and the morality of his subjects.

Religious activities are part of the family and social life of the Monguor society. Their social organization is woven into a religious environment. The chiefs of families, villages, and clans are its promoters. All clansmen are obliged to participate in the public rites.

The intensiveness of the religious life of the Mon- 771
guors is further demonstrated by the fact that they are 754
not only known as practicing Lamaists, but also as fer- 756
vent adherents of shamanism, and practicers of many rites which do not seem to belong to either Lamaism or shamanism, being performed by neither lamas nor

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shamans, but by the family, village, or clan chief. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese into the Monguor clans, it is not unusual to encounter Taoist priests performing rites in some villages, or to hear some wealthy Sinicized Monguors, chiefs of clans, or an occasional scholar proficient in Chinese literature, openly claiming to profess Confucianism. We do not consider them Confucianists since they also practice Lamaist and shamanist rites, and because Confucianism is not a religion.

POSITION OF LAMAISM

What is the respective standing of Lamaism and shamanism? Lamaism occupies the privileged position, and has been an overwhelming influence in the country of the Monguors. In nearly every valley, throughout the country, there is a monastery. As many as three hundred lamas live in some of the monasteries; in others thirty, fifty, or one hundred, and in Kumbum two thousand. The monasteries are the only imposing buildings in the country. They are the bankers, money lenders, owners of flour mills, and big sellers of grain and cattle. They command prestige among the Chinese officials because of the protection bestowed upon them by the Central Government of Peking. The moral influence they exert upon the people is unusual.

Nearly every Monguor family has one of its members, a son or an uncle, enrolled in the lamaseries. Thus, ties of kinship bind the people to the religious institution. The chiefs of the clans are the real supporters of Lamaism, though some of them claim to be Confucianists. The Lu T'u-ssu built three lamaseries in his territory and granted large property rights to them; the Ch'i T'u-ssu granted territories to the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Ta-yin-ssu. The Li T'u-ssu built the once outstanding lamasery of Ta-fo-ssu in the center of the city of Hsining. The protector-deity of each clan is a deity of Lamaism. In the mansion of some T'u-ssu one or two lamas are on duty throughout the year, worshipping the protector-deity of the clan. The T'u-ssu are the benefactors of the lamaseries at the time of the religious festivals. It is no wonder the people follow the example set by their chief and adopt his religion. The large-scale spread of Lamaism throughout Mongolia can be attributed to the example set by the chiefs of clans—such outstanding leaders as the Chang-chia, Sum-pa, Mei-chu-erh, and T'u-kuan Hutukhtus, and many less celebrated Living Buddhas, reincarnated in the Monguor country, which seems to be the "Land of the Lamas."

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO SUPERSEDE SHAMANISM COMPLETELY

Notwithstanding the conditions favoring Lamaism, the Monguors are fervent adherents of shamanism, and occasionally of Taoism. The explanation of this anomaly is to be found in the fact that Monguors do not

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understand the striking incompatibility which exists between the religious and philosophical principles of these religions, while we see the paradox of things which cannot coexist logically, actually coexisting in a very smooth and natural way. The Monguors believe that each of these religions is right, and practice them according to their various circumstances of life. While their knowledge about dogmas and religion is limited and unstable, their religious spirit is unusually developed. What is the reason for this trend of mind, this carelessness concerning differences between religions and philosophical principles? Our illusions and misunderstandings occur because we compare the conversion to Lamaism of the Mongols and the Monguors with the conversion to Christianity of peoples in ancient times, and assume that a similar change of mind took place among the Monguors. We envision churches filled to capacity for weekly worship, people receiving instructions about definite dogmas, children attending parochial schools, learning prayers, studying religion, and being educated in their belief, and we also envision a group of religious leaders, proficient in the religious sciences, but none of these exist or form a part of Lamaism.

The vast and splendid temples in the monasteries are not churches or places where the faithful fulfill in common their religious duties. Lamas recite texts in the temples; laymen do not. There are no spiritual leaders, skilled in religious sciences, to preach and instruct the faithful. Nowhere are there parochial schools for children; nor is anything done to provide serious religious education for the people. Lamaists are like stray sheep without shepherds, for nowhere is there a pastor or rector taking care of definite groups of the faithful. In teaching Christianity, new notions and principles were instilled in the minds of prospective converts. Their incompatibility with the principles of other religions was explained. The prospective converts were taught that they must live according to the principles of Christianity; that in order to do this they would have to change from their way of life to the Christian way, by changing their conduct, feelings, habits, and way of thinking. None of these things are taught about Lamaism. The religious value of the faith is never explained. No zeal is displayed in order to form serious types of Lamaists. The lama does not care about the shaman as he performs his rites; the shaman does not mind, and acts in like manner; the Taoist, considered as the second best, does not bother, for he is very happy to be invited and to earn some money. Shamans are considered the most potent men in certain circumstances, while lamas are believed to be the appropriate performers of certain kinds of rites. Consequently, the two religions are considered equally necessary and equally right.

The fact that serious Lamaists are not formed appears to be responsible for the Mongours still being fer-

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vent shamanists, and provides a reason why Lamaism never succeeded in uprooting shamanism, notwithstanding its overwhelming influence for centuries. Another important factor, without doubt, is in the very nature of the debased Lamaism. Lamas of the Red Sect, who were the first to come into the country, indulged in nearly all the same magical practices as the old shamans, including bloody sacrifices, except that they performed them in such a way that the people, not interested in philosophical and doctrinal discussions but in having religious men who could avert all kinds of calamities in the most efficient way, jumped to the obvious conclusion that the basic difference existing between shamanism and Lamaism was only a question of more or less proficiency in magical art. Lamaism became a kind of supplementary devotion, stimulating the heart to natural kindness and religiosity, but harmonizing perfectly with all kinds of magical practices, regardless of the performer.

POSITION OF SHAMANISM

The place shamanism occupies in the religious life of the Monguors, and its persistence over centuries under the most unfavorable conditions, seems to be an enigma. The lamas, who outnumber the shamans perhaps a hundred to one, are members of a wealthy institution. The few shamans are mostly poor people who derive a precarious existence from the farming of some fields and the fulfilling of their office. Lamas have temples that glisten with gilt; the shamans have none of their own. Lamas are more or less cultured men; most of the shamans are unable to read. The lama institution enjoys a high prestige among the Chinese officials, and controls nearly all the levers of power in the country; the poor shaman, living in the village with his family, always at the beck and call of the villagers, is an unknown and powerless entity in the official world. But, in spite of these unfavorable conditions, the shaman remains a figure of importance with his own kind of prestige, in the religious life of the Monguors.

For those who are cognizant of the power of the impact of wealth and decorum upon the societies of the Orient, this fact seems hard to understand. Its explanation is to be found in the general belief that the shamans are mightier than the lamas because they are more proficient in magical art, and in the subduing of evil spirits. People steeped in superstition, beset on every side by malignant spirits, confronted by diseases, misfortunes, and evils, have easy recourse to the men they believe might best help them, and whom they believe best master the technique of undoing the harm wrought by uncontrollable forces, namely, the shamans. This belief in the magical superiority of the shaman is so deep-rooted because lamas, and even Living Buddhas, when squeezed to the wall, unable to cope with uncontrollable forces and events, resort occasionally to their last shred of hope, the shaman.

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Confidence in the power of the shaman is so strong among the Monguors and over the whole country, that even Sinicized Mongours and neighboring Chinese from outside the clans never fail to invite the shaman to their homes, even though they have long since abandoned the lamas. Before Buddhism and Lamaism were diffused in central Asia and Tibet, these countries were entirely shamanist. There is much evidence today to show that shamanism still occupies a prominent place in the religious life of these peoples. Mme David-Neel assumes that in spite of the fact that the Tibetans are considered to be Lamaists, most of them, except the learned lamas, are shamanists.[4]

II. INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM AND LAMAISM IN HSINING (HUANG-CHUNG)

NO HISTORICAL DATA BEFORE 1227 IN THE ANNALS OF HSINING

OLD OCCUPANTS OF HUANG-CHUNG WERE NOT BUDDHISTS

The *Annals* of Hsining *do not record a single fact* concerning either the time or the way Buddhism first was introduced in what is now the Hsining region. Dealing with the temples and monasteries built in the country, the author of the *Annals*, in concluding ch. 15, p. 13a incidentally notes: ". . . the country of Huang-chung [Hsining], being properly the region of the Hsiao Yüeh-chih [Indo European Scythians], which had been lost several times at the hands of the Tibetans and the barbarians, it is no wonder that [there] Buddhists are numerous and Taoists are few in number." The author seems to suppose that these Scythians and Tibetans were Buddhist at that early time, but in ch. 30, pp. 1–12 (the only pages concerned with these early Scythians and Tibetans), he does not record any fact concerning Buddhism in regard to either these Scythians or these Tibetans.

No evidence can be offered concerning these Scythians to support the assertion of the profession of Buddhism by that "small branch of Hsining Hsiao Yüeh-chih."[1] However, the main branch of the Yüeh-chih

[4] Alexandra David-Neel, *Au Pays des brigands gentils-hommes* 101, Paris, Plon, 1933.

[1] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30. According to the *Annals*, the Hsiung-nu Khan, Mao Tun, having killed the king of the Scythians (202–201 B.C.), a small and feeble branch among them settled in the mountains and mixed with the Tibetans (p. 1*b*). They submitted to the Chinese General Ho Ch'ü-ping (121–119 B.C.) and lived among the Chinese (colonists). They lived in seven groups, numbering in all 9000 or more soldiers, spread over the region of Huang-chung to Ling-chü (colony near Kukunor) (p. 2*a*). During the period Hung-Yüan (A.D. 89–105), refusing to revolt with the Tibetan Mi-T'ang tribes, they helped the Chinese General Tung Hsün crush the revolt. Tung-Hsün gave them the title of *I-T'ung-Ch'iang*, and *I-T'ung-Hu* (loyally following Tibetans and barbarians, re-

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tribes, chased from Mongolia and Turkistan by the Hsiung-nu between 176 and 165 B.C., finally became unified, and founded the realm of Kushana (between Iran and India), in the first half of our era.[2] When that branch adopted Buddhism is not known, but its third king, Kanishka (A.D. 80–11–, or A.D. 120–162), was a fervent protector of Buddhism.

The Tibetans of Huang-chung, in those early times, were still buried in barbaric darkness. It was much later, around A.D. 630–650, that Buddhism was first spread among them, and even then it had little appeal for the people on account of the strong opposition of the native *Bön* religion. The second attempt at diffusion by Padmasambhava a century later (775–788 or 797), was more successful.[3] Conclusively, Buddhism had not been spread during this period among these Scythians or the Tibetans.

FIRST TEMPLE BUILT IN HUANG-CHUNG

Buddhism "seems," however, to have been spread into the country in the first centuries of our era, because the author of the *Annals* (ch. 15, p. 2*b*) mentions the "monastery" Pei Ch'an-ssu, and notes: ". . . the 'monastery' is situated five *li* outside the northern gate of the city of Hsining, at the foot of the 'Earth Tower Mountain'"; it is the very oldest monastery of which Han-yin tells: ". . . north of the T'ing of Hsi-p'ing is the monastery of the 'Earth Tower.'"

According to the Chinese "Dictionary of Famous Men of China," (*Chung-kuo ming-jen ts'e tien*) Han-yin was a native of Tun-Huang (Nan hsi-chou) who fulfilled important functions on behalf of Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün (A.D. 401–439), the king of the ephemeral realm of Pei Liang. Han-yin was the author of several books, among them *The Annals of the Thirteen Chou*. In these *Annals* (p. 8), we read:

the *Shui-ching-chu* records: north of the T'ing of Hsi-p'ing is the 'Earth Tower' temple, (*shen-ssu*); according to the *Shui-ching-chu* the river Huang, turning to the east, passes on the southern side of the 'Earth Tower'; the tower on the northern side leans against the mountain, the original crest being 300 feet high, and looks steep, as if it were artificially cut; at the foot of the tower are the remainders of old walls and of carved walls of the temple (or temples).

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spectively), which titles are recorded on pp. 6*a*–11*b*. Every time they took sides with the Chinese in quelling the intermittent revolts of Tibetans. In A.D. 184 (p. 11*b*) during the revolt of the Yellow Turbans, which accelerated the fall of the later Han dynasty (A.D. 220), the Scythians revolted with the Tibetan Hsien-lin tribes, and from that time on, their name disappears from the *Annals*; nothing more seems to be known about them. Ed. Chavannes, Les Pays d'occident d'après Le Wei Lio, *T'oung Pao*, 6: 527–528, 1905.

[2] René Grousset, *Histoire de l'extrême Orient*, 60, 61, 64, Paris, Geuthner, 1929.

[3] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 361. Bacot, Jacques, Le Mariage chinois du roi Tibetain Sron-bcan-sgan-po, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, 7, Juillet, Louvain, Istas, 1935.

"The Tibetan chronicles show that in the IXth century, Buddhism had only passed the frontiers of Tibet without having either affected the mind of the people or even the court."

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temple must indeed have been devoted to the worship of Buddha at some time; otherwise the name *Pei Ch'an-ssu* would remain inexplicable. These facts seem to lead to the supposition that the original temple, already ruined in A.D. 265, must have been built by the early Chinese frontier colonists; and because it was not then called by the term *ssu*, the specific appellation for Buddhist temples, but *shen-ssu*, it must have been devoted to the worship of the spirits (of the locality), in the old Chinese manner. Later, after A.D. 520, the ruined original temple must have been converted into a Buddhist temple of the Dhyana sect. From that time on the people must have started calling it *Pei Ch'an-ssu*. Later still the temple, after having been changed to the cult of Taoist spirits, seems to have retained the Buddhist appellation, and the author of the *Annals* seems to have supposed erroneously that the temple was originally a Buddhist temple.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY COLONISTS OR BY MONKS FROM TURKISTAN?

Buddhism was introduced in China "officially" between A.D. 64 and 67 by way of Turkistan,[7] before the time of King Kanishka of Kushana (80–110 or 120–162), whose realm was situated on the celebrated commercial road connecting the Roman Empire with India and China.[8] Buddhism had been diffused into the petty realms of central Asia, with which the Chinese generals waged war for two centuries (121 B.C.–A.D. 101).[9] The first translators of Buddhist scriptures, mostly of Iranian and Scythian origin, came to China from Turkistan in A.D. 148.[10] All these missionaries, on their way to China, passed through Liang-chou which at that time was one of the most important emporiums in west China. Here lived businessmen from remote countries, subjects of the Roman Empire.[11]

[7] Franke, *op. cit.* 1: 410, " . . . nothing is known for sure about the way or the time Buddhism was first diffused in China." However, Franke wrote earlier, Ausbreitung der Buddhismus von India nach Turkestan und China, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 12: 217, 1909, " . . . Buddhism was firmly established in China in the second half of the first century A.D.; it made big strides during the middle of the second century, and rode the crest of the waves during the second half of the fourth century." Grousset, *op. cit.*, 244: "In 65 A.D. there existed sporadically in Kiangsu Buddhist communities, protected by the brother of Emperor Ming-ti. The diffusion of Buddhism seems only to have started on some large scale during the middle of the second century, A.D. . . ."

[8] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 55: " . . . the transcontinental silk trade road, running through Kashgaria (Turkistan) and Iran, was already open in the second century, B.C."

[9] O. Franke, Ausbreitung der Buddhismus von India nach Turkestan und China, " . . . during the three first centuries of our era, Buddhism must have been diffused from Gandhara and Kashmir into Turkistan."

[10] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 245.

[11] Peter Boodberg, Two notes on the history of the Chinese frontier, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* 1: 289, Cambridge, November, 1936, "Besides the two 'Aryan' colonies in Shensi, there are reasons to believe that there existed on the Chinese

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The colonization of Huang-chung started between 121 and 119 B.C. with the transportation of Chinese families from central China, and criminals released from jail (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30, p. 2*b*). In A.D. 9 the colonization system was developed on a larger scale in the same way. In A.D. 132 (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 9) after five new colonies were established, the total number reached only ten. Intermittently, new families and criminals had to be sent to replace those who died or ran away (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 9*b*). In A.D. 220, after three centuries, the originally walled, small garrison of Hsining was expanded by the building of three new cities, on three sides of it (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 13*a*). For the first time, Hsining started to become a real city, the only one in the whole country.

It is tempting to suppose that, at the time of the expansion of the city, the temple of the "Earth Tower" might have been built, for it could easily have been protected by the garrison troops who farmed the fields around it. On the other hand, it is an historical fact that Buddhism already had a firm toehold in China in the second half of the second century A.D. It seems possible that among these colonists some might have been professing Buddhists when they arrived in Huang-chung, because Buddhism was the religion of the people. If so, Buddhism might have been imported by the colonists and practiced among them during the second century A.D. However, another possibility is not precluded. Monks who were attendants for the early translators of Buddhist texts (A.D. 148) might have settled in the emporium of Liang-chou, diffusing Buddhism as monks used to do in the oasis cities of Turkistan. Some among them might have tried to go to Hsining to spread Buddhism, after the city had been built and relative security provided. However, no historical data are available to support either of these two suppositions.

More can hardly be said about the diffusion of Buddhism in Huang-chung during the first three centuries of our era, because of the lack of historical data.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY HSIEN-PI TRIBES?

The region of Huang-chung, and its neighboring countries, upset during the second and third centuries by three noticeable invasions of Hsien-pi tribes which settled in the country, driving out the larger Tibetan

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border a third colony from the 'Far West,' this time located in modern Kansu. In the list of Hsien dependent on the prefecture of Chang-Yeh we have Li-Chien-Hsien. . . . It is tempting to see in the name of this administrative subdivision of a western Chinese province a variant transcription . . . which is one of the names under which the Roman Orient was known to the Chinese of the Han dynasty. . . . The name of the little Chinese city on the desert road to the West, would indicate that an important Western community must have sent out its sons to the distant land of the Seres to imprint the name of the metropolis on an outpost of the Han Empire." See also M. Medard, Ta-Ts'in, Province romaine en Asie, *Journal de Pékin*, 141 *et. sq.*, 1936.

tribes [12] and assimilating the smaller ones, changed the whole of the population. This raises the question whether Buddhism was spread into the country by these Hsien-pi tribes. It could hardly have been spread by the group of nomadic Hsien-pi tribes called *T'u-fa* which, coming along the Yin-Shan, settled in the region between Lan-chou and Hsining during the second century A.D.[13] No historical data exist concerning the diffusion of Buddhism along the Yin-Shan at that time. Consequently, these Hsien-pi tribes did not spread Buddhism in Huang-chung at the time of their arrival.[14] Two centuries later they founded an ephemeral realm called "Nan-liang," having its capital in Hsining (339–414). For the same reason, Buddhism cannot have been spread at the time of the arrival of the second group of Hsien-pi, called the Ch'i-fu tribes, which in the third century A.D. came from the northern desert, where they lived as nomads along the same Yin-Shan, and then settled in the country of the T'ao River, south of Hsining. They founded the ephemeral realm of Hsi Ch'ing (385–431) with its capital in Ho-chou.[15] Nor can Buddhism, again for the same reason, have been spread at the time of the arrival of a third strong group of Hsien-pi, the T'u-yü-hun tribes which, living as nomads along the same Yin-Shan, settled in A.D. 280 in the neighboring region of Hsining and in Kukunor, and founded a realm which lasted until 672. At the time of the invasions by these Hsien-pi tribes in the country of Huang-chung, they were still buried in barbaric darkness.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY THE BUDDHIST KINGS OF LIANG-CHOU?

This interesting problem will be approached from geographical and historical aspects. The countries of Huang-chung and Liang-chou are separated by the Nan-Shan (southern mountain range), across which many low passes facilitate communication. During the Hou-Han dynasty Huang-chung depended on Liang-chou.[16] Later on, it was conquered and governed successively by the kings of the ephemeral realms of Ch'ien-Liang, Hou-Liang, and Pei Liang, who resided at the important emporium of Liang-chou.[17]

[12] Wieger, *Textes historiques* 2: 1207–1208, Ho-chien Fu, Imprimerie de Hien-hien, 1904.

[13] O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches, op. cit.* 2: 112.

[14] James A. Ware, Wei-shou on Buddhism, *T'oung Pao* 30: 126, 1933. "Before the Wei had established their realm in the north. . . . They had not yet heard of Buddha, or if they had, they had not yet put their trust in him." Wei, alias Yüan Wei, ruled over varying portions of North China from 386.

[15] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 85.

[16] *Yüan hsuo Chün-hsien chih*, ch. 29, p. 15.

[17] Wolfram Eberhard, *Das Toba Reich in Nord China*, 180, Leiden, Brill. In 439 T'o-pa Wei conquered Pei Liang, the last of the petty realms which had successively settled in Liang-chou from 345 on. These realms had so monopolized the entire trade of Central Asia that Liang-chou became the most important colony of foreign traders, whose caravans arrived incessantly.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The Chin dynasty, which started in A.D. 265, had been unable to control its empire, which was invaded by the northern barbarians. The governors of the distant Liang-chou, according to the circumstances, recognized the authority of either the empire or one of the nearest new barbarian kingdoms (Chao, Ch'ing, Wei), or both at the same time, or even declared themselves independent, founding their own kingdoms and expanding their power and influence as far as Turkistan and Huang-chung (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30, pp. 14–17).

From 345 until 439 Liang-chou was not only the most important emporium of the West but also the most active cultural center of Buddhism.

The kings of Ch'ien-Liang (345–385) promoted and protected Buddhism.[18] The kings of Hou-Liang (385–401) were as fervent protectors of Buddhism as the kings of Ch'ien-Liang.[19] However, Buddhism reached its highest degree of intellectual activity during the period of Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün of Pei Liang (401–439), who controlled Turkistan and nearly the entire east of modern Kansu.[20] His counselor was the celebrated Dharmaksema.[21] One is easily tempted to suppose that Buddhism was diffused on a large scale in the countries subjected to unusually fervent Buddhist rulers—and all the more since during the period of 401–439, two thousand families from Liang-chou were transported to Huang-chung (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30, p. 176), three thousand from Yung-ch'ang (ch. 30, p. 18*a*), and five thousand from Ho-chou (ch. 30, p. 18*b*). It seems to be an axiom that in Asia, and especially among

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Because China at that time was involved in endless wars, many Chinese from Ho-pei, allured by the prospects of peaceful living and profitable trading, moved into Liang-chou. The acquisition of the wealthy and rich emporium of Liang-chou had also been the motive for the expedition of the T'o-pa and the destruction of Pei Liang. The Chinese population of Liang-chou, according to the custom during these ages, were then taken slaves to populate the realm of the T'o-pa.

[18] They built the big monastery and superb tower in the city of Liang-chou, the first grottos of *Sha-chou* (Wieger, *Textes historiques*, 1185), and supported Chih-shih-lün, an Upsaka of the country of the Yüeh-chih, who translated in Liang-chou four volumes of Buddhist texts (*A catalogue of the Chinese translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, App. II, No. 35, p. 398, Bunyiu Nanjio, 1930), and the Chinese *Sramana* Chu Fu-nien who translated 12 works (Catalogue . . . App. II, No. 58, p. 405).

[19] The king's counselor was the Indian monk, Kumarajiva, who translated the 200 and more volumes of the Sutralankara (*Nanjio catalogue*, App. II, No. 59, p. 407) in Liang-chou. They built a tower and a monastery in the city, said to contain the relics of the monk (*Annals* of Liang-chou, 30*a*); the monk was very proficient in foretelling the future (*ibid.*, 34*b*, 35*a*.)

[20] *The Bunyiu Nanjio catalogue of Chinese translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka* mentions no less than nine names of learned foreign monks working in Liang-chou, supported by the king, translating 82 works from Indian and Sanskrit into Chinese (App. II, p. 410, No. 61, pp. 64–72). Nan-yang-hu, the nephew of the king was a translator (App. II, No. 83). Walter Fuchs, Zür technischen Organisation der Übersetzungen buddhistischer Schriften in Chinesische, *Asia Major* 6: 84, 1930.

[21] *Annals* of Liang-chou, 34*b*. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 196. Ware, *op. cit.* 2: 133.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the nomadic tribes, subjects adopted the religion professed by their kings or chiefs. Even in Europe there existed the sayings: *Regis ad exemplar* ("Subjects follow the pattern set by the king"), *cujus regio ejus religio* ("Let the religion of each state follow that of its prince"). However, not a single fact is recorded in the *Annals* concerning the building of Buddhist temples or monasteries in Huang-chung during this century of intensive cultural Buddhist activity promoted by the conquerers and rulers of Huang-chung in their capital of Liang-chou. This fact seems to challenge belief. Possibly the insecurity in the country on account of the military actions accompanying the conquest, carried on by the three successive rulers in the span of a century (345–439), and the disturbances following the transportation of such important groups of families, afford the explanation. Perhaps the Buddhist cultural activities did not appeal so much to the people, as to the court and the administrative centers of the capital, and so the impact of Buddhism remained confined to the area of the capital.

The T'o-pa Wei conquered the kingdom of Pei Liang in 439, but at the time it was involved in a serious persecution of Buddhism (438–452).[22] From 445 until 635 endless troubles occurred in Huang-chung, on account of the intermittent inroads of the T'u-yü-hun from Kukunor, and the T'o-pa, Sui, and T'ang dynasties successively had to wage war with them (*Annals*, ch. 30, pp. 20*b*–24*b*). In 663 there started the intermittent inroads of the T'u-fan until 866 (*Annals*, ch. 30, pp. 25*a*–31*a*). During the Wu-tai period (907–960) China was unable to control Huang-chung. The Sung dynasty (920–1227) was powerless against the Hsi-Hsia and Chin, which successively occupied Huang-chung, but which themselves had trouble with the T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang (*Annals*, ch. 31, pp. 1*a*–8*b*). Finally, the Mongols conquered Huang-chung in 1227 and brought peace into the country. No wonder, during these eight centuries of intermittent troubles and change in the population, Buddhist activities were very limited, and the few existing institutions in depopulated Huang-chung were of minor importance.

HISTORICAL DATA ACCORDING TO TIBETAN SOURCES

However, the lack of information in the *Annals* of Hsining relating to this period is compensated for by data provided by the Tibetan *Blue Annals* of 'Gos lo-tsa-la composed between A.D. 1476 and 1478.[23]

[22] Ware, *op. cit.*, 135, " . . . when in the period T'ai-yen (435–440) the province of Liang was conquered and its population moved to the capital, the monks and Buddhist paraphernalia all came East, and the counterfeit teaching increased far and wide. Presently, owing to the large number of Sramanas, an Imperial order was given to unfrock those under 50 years of age."

[23] George N. Roerich, The Blue Annals by 'Gos lo-tsa-la, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1949: 1; 1953: 11. *The Blue Annals* and the *History of Buddhism* by Bu-ston Rin-po-

Buddhism, introduced in Tibet during the reign of King Sron-btsan sgam-po, who died in A.D. 650 or 698, was persecuted by King Lang Darma in either 841 or 901. The persecution lasted for 70 or 108 years. However, the doctrine continued to exist in Western Tibet (mNa-ris).

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In Book II of the *Blue Annals* (pp. 65–66) it is stated that:

> dGe-ba rab-gsal started his religious life at the hermitage of Zin-dpon. Three hermits [24] had fled via Khotan, to the country of Hor (Uigur kingdom), during the persecution and proceeding to Amdo met with dGe-ba rab-gsal, born in 892 in the village of Jya-zur situated north of Hsün-hua on the northern bank of the Yellow River. One of these "Three Learned Men of Tibet" ordained dGe-ba rab-sgal who went to Kan-chou (Kansu) for study but could not enter Tibet on account of the famine. In a vision he saw "Asuras" known as the "Nine Brother Dwarfs" residing in the neighborhood of Mount Dantig, who invited him to go to their place where there are great hermitages "promising to become his lay supporters."
>
> In order to combat certain Yogis existing there, he laid the foundation of the monastery of Dantig, disciples joined him; he resided there for 35 years and died at 84 (975). Other celebrated fugitives of Tibet, called "The Six Men from *dbUs* and *gTsan*," who inaugurated the revival of Buddhism in Tibet, had met with dGe-ba rab-sgal, and had their ordination ceremony presided over by his disciple.

The text of the *Blue Annals* presents evidences of the existence of the hermitage of Zin-dpon and the founding of a hermitage at Mount Dantig by dGe-ba rab-gsal in the country where, during that period, there existed "great hermitages."

The text (*Blue Annals*, 65) fixing the location of Mount Dantig notes: "Ri Dantig is situated on the bank of the rMa-chu or Huang-ho, southeast of Kum-'bum and north of Hsün-hua." In the Introduction (p. 17), the author notes that "dGe-ba rab-gsal was born in 892 in Tsong-ka bDe-khams" (north Amdo; according to a local tradition his native village was Jya-zur, situated on the northern bank of the rMa-chu, north of Hsün-hua).

The location of Mount Dantig on which dGe-ba rab-gsal built his hermitage in A.D. 940, southeast of Hsining on the northern bank of the Yellow River, seems to correspond perfectly with that of the Mount Ami ch'ü-lu situated 140 *li* southeast of Hsining on which is built the actually still existing picturesque monastery of Sha-ch'ung. In 1910 its origin had been lost, but various surviving traditions attributed its origin to the Yüan

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che composed in 1322, partly translated by E. Obermiller, 1931, are the main sources of information for all later historical compilations in Tibet. *Ibid.*, Introduction, 1.

[24] *Idem*, 63, cites Bu-ston's *History of Buddhism*. Obermiller, *Blue annals*, 2: 201. The three men are called *Bodhi-kyi mkhas-pa mi-gsum* or The Three Learned Men of Tibet. They are buried in a temple at Hsining. In dPari, north of Hsining, there exists a stone pillar with the names of three men mentioned on it (verbal communication of Rev. dGe-dun Chos-'phel). I never heard about such facts during my sojourn in the country.

[p. 12(A)]

4; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

period (1280–1368). The site of the hermitage of Zin-dpon being less picturesque, it is hard to identify it with the monastery of Goorong bzan which is a neighbor of Sha-ch'ung.[88]

[88] R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia, *Bull. Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient* 44: 229, 1951, identifies Sha-ch'ung (Sha-ch'ung of the Hsining *Annals*) with the monastery of the Rock of Bya-k'yun, below the city of Kui-te, south of Hsining, in the region of the Tibetans situated behind Tsong-ko. He gives details (p. 230) concerning the region of Tsong-ko situated between the cities of Tsong-ko and Shih-ch'eng, where he notes the river of Tsong running in the valley between the cities of Tsong-ko and Shih-ch'eng. The *Annals* of Hsining provide more details; "the River Tsong is east of the city (subprefecture of Nien-pei) (ch. 4, p. 15*a*). The valley of Tsong is situated 30 *li* west of the Great Rapids" (ch. 4, p. 10*b*), which are *circa* 30 *li* east of Nien-pei. "The River Tsong-ko which is north of the old city of Tsong-ko is [also known as] the River of Hsining [Huang-shui]; when the river reaches the city of Tsong-ko it is then called Tsong-ko River. The river changes its name according to the places [through which it flows] (ch. 4, p. 17*a*). South of the subprefecture of Nien-pei, there exists a city of Tsong-ko." The Sung *Annals* note: "The city of Lung-chih, which is the old city of Tsong-ko, depended on the Chou of Hsining. Concerning old Lung-chih there are three: at the time of the Han dynasties the city was situated west of the actual Ning-I [Hsining] in the *Chün* of the western Sea (Kukunor); at the time of the Sui and T'ang dynasties Lung-chih was situated to the southwest of the actual Nien-pei near the Yellow River; at the time of the Sung dynasty it was located to the south of Nien-pei; therefore, it is an error to say indiscriminately that the old city of Tsong-ko was only one city."

Shih-ch'eng (ch. 7, p. 13*a*) "is situated south of Nien-pei near the Yellow River." But ch. 7, p. 14 notes: "south of Nien-pei is the old city of Hua-ch'eng, which is properly the city of Shih-ch'eng established by the Hu-Wei; because in that region there was a Hua-lung valley, its name was changed to that of Hua-ch'eng hsien in 568 and in 712 the T'ang emperor adopted this appellation." (See also article *K'uo-chou*, *Annals*, ch. 7, pp. 12*a* and *b*.) However, ch. 4, p. 10 notes: "To the northwest of Hsining (region of the Kukunor) is a river running eastward (River of Hsining) passing south of Shih-ch'eng, which joins the river of the northern valley." This text and the former one concerning Tsong-ko seem to point to the strange fact that there have existed in the region of Kukunor a Tsong-ko and a Shih-ch'eng, before two cities called by the same names were established in the region south of Nien-pei.

In modern times the region south of Nien-pei near the Yellow River was separated from Nien-pei by the Ch'ing dynasty and organized as the T'ing of Pa-yen-jung. The Chinese Republic changed the name of Pa-yen-jung to Hua-lung hsien in honor of the old Hua-ch'eng hsien, of 568, which at that time had taken over the place called Shih-ch'eng.

Conclusively, the former Tsong River joined the river of Hsining *circa* 10 *li* below Nien-pei; the region of Tsong-ko, Shih ch'eng in later times, was situated in the country south of Nien-pei and constitutes now, completely or at least for its largest part, the territory of Hua-lung hsien, near southwest of Nien-pei and really behind Tsong-ko as Stein notes: ". . . and southwest in Hua-lung hsien near the Yellow River is Sha-ch'ung."

More is available concerning the Tibetan tribes of Tsong-ko and the neighborhood from 1096 on (ch. 31, p. 1 *sq.*) fighting against and exterminating each other in the nomadic pattern; also about the Tsong-ko lama Li li-tsun, who married his daughter to the powerful Tibetan chief Kio-sse-louo, etc., which point to the fact that at that time these lamas belonged to the group of the Red Sect which was permitted marriage (ch.

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Thus, in 940 dGeba rab-gsal, who had started his religious life in the monastery of Zin-dpon, built a monastery in Dantig. At that time there existed in that region "great hermitages" and a temple in Hsining, where the three learned men from Tibet were buried. Later their names were chiseled on a stone pillar in dPari (the region between the Ta t'ung River and Nanshan, reaching to P'ing fan). At what time were the "great hermitages," the monastery of Zin-dpon, and the temple at Hsining built? Were there at that time hermitages in dPari?

The *Annals of Kansu* 45, 65–66, and the *Annals of Hsining* 30A, 30 a, b, record that during the span of time from the period of the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet (some years before 650 or 696), until its persecution (in 841 or 901), the T'ufan occupied Huang chung and Lungyu from 756 until 842, under the leadership of successive descendants of the imperial T'ufan family (Tsanpu), who appointed their own officials in the country without interference by the Chinese empire. It seems appropriate to assume that Tibetan lamas would at that time have followed the T'ufan tribes in Huang chung, and have built the "great hermitages" and the temple in Hsining, being encouraged by the Tsanpu leaders, the promoters of Buddhism. Thus Buddhism would have been diffused in Huang chung between 756–842 by lamas from Tibet and that is why "great hermitages" and the temple in Hsining existed before 940.

The minor importance of these institutions founded in troubled times, the loss of traditions concerning their origin, and the minor interest of the Chinese scholars for Lamaism, explain the lack of records in the Chinese *Annals*.[1]

Conclusively, from the very beginning of the Chinese colonization of Huang chung until its conquest by the Mongols in 1227, the foundation of the hermitage of Dantig in 940, and the existence at that time, of "great hermitages" in that region, and of a Buddhist temple in the city of Hsining, are the only Lamaist institutions concerning which historical records exist.

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE YÜAN DYNASTY (1280–1367)

When the Mongols conquered Huang-chung, the country was nearly depopulated. They found a few

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31, p. 2*b*). Also, more is available concerning the subject in *Kansu chüan shen Hsin-t'ung-chih*, 1909, ch. 46, pp. 6*b*, 7*a* and 7*b*. See also Wolfram Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen* 1: 20, Brill, Leiden, 1942, Shih ch'eng, alte Hsiung-nu Gebiet.

Incidentally, I encountered in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomankhan of Amdo translated by Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1887, Pt. 1, No. 1, p. 28: "The north of Machhu is occupied by Chinese, Tibetans, Hor, Mohammedans [this seems to be the region of Pa-yen Jtng], in the east of this tract lie the districts called Tantig and Yantig in which Tantig Shelgi is a sacred place." The location seems to be the region directly south of Nien pei. However, in 1910 no monastery existed in that region.

[p. 13 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Tibetan tribes, remnants of important ones which had fled to Kukunor or Tibet. Mongol troops, divided into small units, were settled with their families under the leadership of clan chiefs at strategic points, in order to prevent possible inroads of hostile neighboring tribes. A group of Shat'o living in the country since 936 joined the conquerers and was enlisted among the frontier defenders. The descendants of these groups constitute the Monguors to whom this study is devoted. Later there came also groups of Salars, Turks of Samarkand, to whom territories were assigned. More Moslems also settled in the country.[26]

GODAN

The Yüan dynasty is well known for its devotion to Lamaism. In Tibetan and Mongol literature, Godan, the brother of Güyük (the Emperor T'ing tsung, 1246–1251) is celebrated as the first ardent Buddhist Mongol prince who invited to his residence in Hsi-Liang the Sa-Skya Pandita, Chief Abbot of the Sa-Skya sect.

The holy man accepted the invitation and started his "apostolic" journey. He remained seven years in Hsi-Liang successfully diffusing the religion over the entire country.[27]

According to history, the troops of Godan had defeated the Tibetans northwest of Lhasa in 1239 and destroyed a monastery. The Tibetans asked for negotiations in order to end the war. Godan urged a Tibetan delegate to come to his residence, and Sa-Skya Pandita, to whom this task had been assigned, started his "apostolic" journey on "command" from Godan, in order to avoid the worst. He delivered Tibet into the hands of the Mongol Prince, received a "gold patent," became an official under Godan, and Vice-regent of Tibet. His successors inherited this office.[28] Discontent among the Tibetans over the surrender of Tibet caused a new Mongol expedition to be sent in 1251. More rivalries and discontent had to be crushed again by the Mongol troops in 1267, 1277, 1281, and 1290.[29]

The Mongol emperors, hoping to keep the Tibetans and Mongols in submission by manifesting reverence for the lamas and promoting their religion, lavishly showered favors and privileges on the lamas and became Lamaists themselves. Emperors and empresses received Lamaist initiation, and the Sa-Skya lama Phagspa, chaplain at court, was allowed to sit next to the emperor.[30] The court of the Mongols was sincerely

[26] Louis M. J. Schram, C.I.C.M., The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Part I, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1): 23–57, 1954.

[27] Huth, *Geschichte der Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, 130, 1896.

[28] Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* 1: 8, *et seq.* It is the merit of Professor Tucci to have shed true light on this old myth about the ardent Buddhist Godan, his invitation to the Sa-Skya Pandita, and the political status of Tibet during the Yüan dynasty. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217–91, 578.

[29] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 18. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217.

[30] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 510–517–522.

[P. 13(8)]

Buddhist, and Peking was a Buddhist city. However, the Mongols also favored all religions—shamanism, Nestorianism, Catholicism.

The impact of Lamaism during the Yüan dynasty was limited to Peking. The number of conversions to Lamaism in Mongolia, and the number of monasteries, were insignificant, since when Altan, Khan of T'umed in 1578, proclaimed the Yellow Church the official religion of the Mongols, the Red Church was very nearly extinct. Possibly the appeal of Lamaism to the Mongols at that time was very limited because the marvels performed by the Red lamas (such as making rain, dispelling hail, predicting the future, rising in the air, subduing evil spirits, protecting the herds by sorcery) had already been performed by their own old shamans for centuries. So, for them, Lamaism could have seemed but another form of their own shamanism.

TA-FO-SSU

In the long list of monasteries and temples recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining, there is mention only of the monastery of Ta-fo-ssu, situated in the heart of the city, with the note: " . . . it is an old monastery built by the Mongols, to which was granted during the Hung-wu period of the Ming (1368–99), the inscription 'Pacified Tibetans' " (*Annals* ch. 15, p. 1*b*). The temple complex in 1915, although in a state of total dilapidation, gave evidence that it must have constituted a fine monastery in former times. The main temple (two stories high) contained three huge statues of Buddhas, nine meters in height. The ruins of four smaller temples were still in existence, as well as a great number of small rooms, the habitations of former lamas. This temple was built by the ancestors of the Li T'u-ssu who fulfilled in Hsining the important office of Yu-ch'eng at the end of the Yüan dynasty. The clan of the Li T'u-ssu belonged to the Ch'u-yüeh tribe of the Shat'o group which founded the Later T'ang and the Later Chin dynasties (923–947). The Shat'o were Buddhists, and the emperors of their dynasties liked to visit the caves of Lung-men where they prayed for rain and snow.[31] They honored especially the Buddhist deity, Pishamen (*Vaisrayana*), one of the "Four Heavenly Kings," guardians of the four directions.[32] This devotion must have been old, because it is said that "Li K'o-yung as a youth once prayed in the temple of Vaisrayana." [33] No wonder then that the Li clan built the celebrated Ta-fo-ssu. However, like most of the Turkish tribes in Central Asia, the Shat'o had two religions. Besides Buddhism, the old Turkish "God of Heaven" was still worshipped by them. After the conquest of North China, the Shat'o also worshipped the gods of the Chinese official religion.[34]

[31] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, 95, Leiden, Brill, 1952.
[32] *Ibid.*, 96.
[33] *Ibid.*, 92.
[34] *Ibid.*, 94. Schram, *op. cit.*, 30.

[P. 14(A)]

A second fact is encountered in a publication of Ma Fu-hsiang.[37] For many years he was the most prominent official of Hsining engaged with Tibetan and Mongol affairs. Later, he became governor of Suiyüan Province and a member of the Meng-Tsang Yüan in Nanking. The passage from the publication states:

> More than 100 *li* southeast of Hsining, on the territory of the 'Ten Tribes,' is the Ami chü-lu mountain upon which was built the monastery of Sha-ch'ung which had more than 1,000 lamas. It was there that Tsong khapa had his hair clipped [entered religion], and remained for more than 10 years, starting his studies and religious life, before he went to Tibet (p. 198).

In 1906 the Chinese started digging for gold in the sacred mountain. The lamas, opposed to the digging, fought and two men were killed. The governor of the province ordered punishment to be imposed upon the lamasery with ruthless severity. Ma Fu-hsiang, being acquainted with the Tibetans, sought to settle the question amicably and went to Sha-ch'ung. The rebelling lamas and 1,000 soldiers of the "Ten Tribes" were determined to fight the Chinese troops. During the long period of discussion, the head of the lamasery repeated over and over that the lamasery and the mountain were hallowed places, because it was there that the founder of the Yellow Church had clipped his hair and remained for more than ten years. He protested that by digging at these spots the "artery" of the Yellow Church would be damaged, and the ruin of its religion be made inevitable (p. 190). Finally, as always in the Orient, a way was found to settle the case, by promising that no more digging would be done on the Sacred Mountain; but on the territory of the "Ten Tribes" digging would be allowed (p. 193). This fact gives evidence of the deep-seated conviction among the Tibetans about the veracity of the tradition and infers the existence of the lamasery at the time of the Yüan period (1280–1367). More traditions exist about monasteries having been built during the Yüan period, as related by the lamas, but they are vague and no names or specific places are indicated nor do ruins exist. However, it is not impossible that the traditions point to the hermitages noted in the *Blue Annals*. The building of the big monastery of Ta fo-ssu by one of the important T'u-ssu clans reveals the fact that Lamaism was a living entity among the T'u-ssu and their Monguors. Is it not too far-fetched to suppose that among the T'u-ssu only the Li T'u-ssu were Lamaist, since it is well known that the Ch'i and Lu T'u-ssu in 1644 were proprietors of monasteries constructed by them, although we do not know when they were constructed.[38] Besides, the facts that the monastery of Goorongbzan existed near Sha-ch'ung, and that in the beginning of the Ming a board of lamas was established, suggest the assumption that in Huang-chung during the Yüan period there probably must

[37] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng Tsang Chuang-k'uang*, Nanking, Chung-Hua yin-shu kung-ssu, 1931.

[38] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 34, p. 3a.

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have existed more insignificant hermitages, scattered over the country. The lack of historical data does not permit further assertion about the diffusion of Lamaism during the Yüan period.

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE MING DYNASTY (1368–1643)

GENERAL POLICY OF THE MING

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The emperors of the Ming dynasty followed in the wake of those of the Yüan dynasty, protecting and promoting Lamaism among the Tibetans and the Mongols, in order to hold in subjection the turbulent tribes living in remote countries. This policy indeed was less expensive than that of venturesome military expeditions.

The perspicacious Chinese Ming emperors from the very beginning grasped the capital flaw inherent in the policy of the Yüan, in regard to Tibet. Khubilai must have known that the Tibet of the thirteenth century was not the Tibet of the seventh and eighth centuries, when the Tibetan tribes, united by powerful chiefs and allured by the prospect of plundering, marauded over the western and southern frontiers of China, and in 763 even plundered the capital of China with 200,000 men. Tibet of the thirteenth century was a disintegrated country, divided among antagonistic aristocratic families, each claiming to be the protector and defender of its preferred lama sect and powerful lamasery. The armed struggles between these families had involved, necessarily, the sects they protected, and caused the sects to fight on the side of their protectors and to ruin each other. Thus the doctrinal divergences between the sects seem not to have been the capital cause of the fierce hostility among them.[39]

The appointment of the Sa-Skya great lama as Viceregent of Tibet at the time Godan had fanned the flame of the long-standing animosity and hatred among the aristocratic families and sects, to the extent that five times Mongol armies had to be sent to quell the revolts. Notwithstanding this initial political blunder, Khubilai and his successors continued to extend their special protection to the Sa-Skya sect and to lavish on it the highest possible marks of honor at court.

However, at the end of the Mongol dynasty the powerful aBrigumpa sect had succeeded in overthrowing the Sa-Skya. Therefore, from the very beginning, the Ming dynasty avoided having to back and restore the supremacy of the decaying Sa-Skya or to patronize the most powerful aBrigumpa. It lavishly granted the same titles and favors to chiefs and influential lamas of different sects, using them for its political purposes. On the one hand, all the rival Lamaist sects had to stand on the same footing, and had to curry favors with the emperors, but, on the other hand, more and more favors had to be granted, and Lamaism reached a very high degree in Huang-chung.

[p. 16(A)]

[39] Tucci, *op. cit.*, 39, *et seq.*

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The author of the *Annals*, dealing with the diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung, seems to have neglected completely even the existence of Lamaism before the Ming (1368). He seems very articulate concerning the problem, claiming that its diffusion had really started during the first years of the Ming and that, in fact, by the foundation of monasteries, the granting of titles to lamas, the institution of Nang-suo, Ka-wa, and Ch'an-shih chia, the outlook of the entire country was changed and the possession and population of Huang-chung assured.

PECULIAR POLICY IN HUANG-CHUNG

Founding of the lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 13*a*, 13*b*) that

> At the beginning of the Ming dynasty San-la, a Tibetan lama of Hsining, wrote a letter to induce the tribes of Han-tung to submit,[40] and built a monastery south of Nien-pei and settled there. He went to court and brought a tribute of horses, and he begged for a rescript to administer the monastery and the tribes, and for the favor of an inscription for the monastery. The Emperor T'ai-tsu (1368–1399), granted his request and favored him with an inscription reading: "Ch'ü-t'an." The Emperor established a board of lamas in Hsining and named San-la the director of the board. From that time on his pupils emulated him in building monasteries; the Emperor bestowed glorious names upon them, and in addition gave rescripts for administering them. Consequently, land and power became monopolized by the barbarian lamas. During the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) there were bestowed, piecemeal, on the lamas, the titles of "Ch'an-shih" (Master in Dhyana), "Kuan-ting" (one whose head had been anointed), "Kuo-shih" (master of the empire); some were even given the title of "Ta-Kuo-shih" (great master or teacher of the empire), "Hsi T'ien Fo Tzu" (Buddha of the western Paradise; Amitabha). To all he gave seals and diplomas, and allowed [their dignities] to be transmitted, and they were ordered to bring, once every year, a tribute to the court.
>
> Because the lamas were held in high esteem among the barbarians, the government took advantage of them in order to keep the barbarians in submission. The people of the frontiers considered the dignity of the lamas as most glorious. For that reason, Tibetans and Monguors who had two sons, were certain to have one of them become a lama. Some even preferred not to have an heir, but ordered their sons to enter religious life. Tibetans and Monguors bequeathed their wealth to the monastery with a request for prayers, leaving their descendants destitute. Thus the barbarians became poorer and the monasteries richer. In each tribe there were people who submitted themselves to monasteries and became like a tribe, the subjects of the monastery [Shabinar].[41] The Chinese officials also entrusted the Tibetan monks with the duty of exchanging tea for horses.

[40] E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches* 2: 218. Han tung "was situated in the land, which in the days of the Han constituted all the district of Tun-Huang."

[41] Shabinar disciples. Shabinars are the supporters of the lamas, giving them material sustenance. At first some disciples performed this task. By extension, it came to mean lay adjuncts of the lamasery, and at present it means the subjects of the lamasery.

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Ch'ü-t'an was the only monastery in Huang-chung where laymen and lamas lived in the same compound. This fact reveals the mentality of the lamas and the customs of that time. These details were obtained from Living Buddhas and old lamas of Ch'ü-t'an and Yao-ts'ao-t'ai, and in Kumbum and Erh-ku-lung, and among chiefs of the villages near these places.

STAGNATION IN THE DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM

The building of the splendid monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, the exceptionally favorable disposition of the emperors toward Lamaism, the lavish granting of titles and privileges to lamas who induced Tibetans to submit, all seemed to augur a period of intensive diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung. However, for two centuries Ch'ü-t'an remained the only important monastery in the whole country. Two reasons seem to account for this: the insecurity in the region of Huang-chung, and the violent struggle in Tibet between the sects, which depleted the forces of expansion of Lamaism abroad.

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, pp. 12*b*–19*a*) that during the period 1448–1600 there were thirty-seven inroads of Mongols from Kukunor, the Ordos, neighboring Tibetan tribes, or revolts of Tibetans. Fortunately, the construction of Ch'ü-t'an was completed (1426–1436) before the troubles started. Certainly troubled times are not propitious for the building of big monasteries, so Nang-suos and Karwas necessarily remained humble institutions.

Conditions in Tibet were just as unfavorable: Tsong khapa died in 1419. The five biggest monasteries of his sect were built before 1437. The rival Red Sects were still so aggressive as to dare to build their monasteries close to those of the Yellow Sect, and were even able to hinder the lamas of the Yellow Sect from attending (1498–1518) the famous sMon lam New Year religious festival, instituted by Tsong khapa himself.[55] In 1537 eighteen monasteries of the Yellow Sect were destroyed. In 1553 a war broke out with the Galdan monastery.[56] In 1621–1631 Mongols were called in by the Dalai Lama to rescue his sect,[57] but the Mongol Nairamdahu, an adherent of the Red Sect, fled from Mongolia to Kukunor in 1633 and persecuted the Yellow Sect which had spread.[58] Finally, in 1642, Tibet was conquered by the Ölöt Mongols whose chief, Gushi, offered it to the Dalai Lama. Although it is recognized that the effective power of the Dalai began with the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam (1542–1587), his political power was still scanty and questionable; it only began to develop with the Fifth Dalai Lama, Nag-dban Blo bzang (1617–1682), when Gushi Khan renewed in his favor the endowment conferred by Khubilai on the Sa-Skya.[59]

[55] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 39.
[56] *Ibid.*, 40.
[57] *Ibid.*, 58.
[58] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 132; also Huth, *op. cit.*, 51, 248–253.
[59] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 48.

[p.246(8)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The support and protection of the Mongols and of the emperors of China saved and established the Yellow Sect, which was on a foundation of rock. In 1717–1719 the Jungar Mongols persecuted the Red Sects and destroyed 550 of their monasteries.[60]

KUMBUM [61]

The insecurity in Huang-chung and the struggle in Tibet among the sects provide an explanation for the late date assigned to the founding of the celebrated monastery of Kumbum. One and a half centuries after the death (1419) of Tsong khapa, the lama Rintschen Dson dui dschamtso, in 1560, built some "cells" for himself and his ten monks (hermitage). Later, twenty more cells were added. In 1577, seventeen years later, a temple was built close to the "tower," whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree which at that time must have been 220 years old (1357–1577), and a statue of Maitreya was honored in the temple.[62] According to this tradition and the customs of Buddhist India, a tower must have first been built on the spot of the birth of Tsong khapa to commemorate the event. It is not known when this tower was built.

[60] L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, 44, 71, Leiden, Brill, 1950.

[61] Kumbum, the lamasery of the 100,000 images is, at present, the most celebrated lamasery of Huang-chung, because of its precious trees, which are lilacs (Philadelphus, coronarius; see Rockhill, W., *Land of the lamas*, 67). The main tree sprang from the placenta of Tsong khapa (1357) and is said to have 100,000 images of Buddhas growing on its leaves. Much has been written about the tree. On May 6 and October 3, 1912, and on October 10, 1914, Father J. Essens and I read on the leaves only the two letters *Pa*, the thirteenth letter of the alphabet and *Ya*, the twenty-fourth letter, repeated indefinitely, written more or less correctly where the leaves were easy to reach. They were written with the red earth, which Chinese and Tibetan teachers use to correct the compositions of pupils. The sacred leaves are a wonderful panacea, healing all kinds of diseases of men, women, and children. It has been recorded that in Ch'ü-t'an and in Hung-shan-ssu the same kind of miraculous trees are encountered.

It is worth noting what is written regarding the tree (here called a "White Sandalwood") in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomunkhan of Amdo, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1887, Part I, No. I, p. 28: "On the birthplace of Tsong khapa there exists a white Sandalwood tree, on every leaf of which, at the time of the reformer's birth, there appeared a picture of the Buddha Senge naro, supernaturally inscribed. Hence, from the circumstance of a 'hundred thousand images of Buddha' having appeared on the leaves, the town and the monastery is called Kumbum. Even at the present age, images are occasionally said to be seen divinely inscribed on the leaves of the Chandan tree and Sugpa trees of the grove. The enemies of the Gelugpa say that the said images are secretly drawn with pins and needles by the Gelugpa monks." The Chinese call Kumbum T'a-erh-ssu, that is, "the lamasery of the [eight] stupas," because at its entrance there are eight stupas said to contain the ashes of eight Living Buddhas killed by General Nien Keng-yao at the time of the revolt of the Kumbum lamas in 1723. Filchner (*Dschamba-ling*, 160) notes: "They were built at the time of the 31st mK'ampo of Kumbus [date not given] by the chief of Roko, native of Amdo, after eight lamas had been killed by a Chinese prince, ruler of the country."

[62] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 29.

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In 1578, a year after the building of the first temple, the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam, had his historical meeting with Altan Khan of the T'umed, at which the Yellow Sect was proclaimed the religion of the Mongols. It is amazing that neither of them, during their long stay at Kukunor, visited Kumbum (only three days distant), the birthplace of the founder of the sect, or called on Achia, incarnation of the father of Tsong khapa, or took a glance at the first Yellow Sect temple and the miraculous tree. Possibly the temple had not yet been built nor the legend of the tree spread, nor the incarnation of the father of Tsong khapa recognized. However, four years later, in 1582, the Dalai, on his way to the Ordos, visited Kumbum where he founded a school for the explanation of the sacred texts (the school only started in 1600 or 1612) and then went for a long rest, not to Kumbum where the incarnation of Tsong khapa's father must have been, but to the monastery of Ribo Nantig (Huth, 227). Perhaps it was not convenient for the Dalai Lama to take a rest at the insignificant monastery of Kumbum, where neither a school nor the incarnation of Achia yet existed.

In 1600 the Fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan, on his way to Lhasa for his enthronement, passed through Kukunor, where he remained for three months without even paying a visit to Kumbum and the precious tree or to Achia, the incarnation of Tsong khapa's father! (Huth, 238). In 1652 the Fifth Dalai Lama on his way to Peking did not visit Kumbum. Was Kumbum still so insignificant at that time?[63] According to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 4*b* and 5*a*), the decision to build a monastery on a large scale was made only in 1596. This decision does not seem impossible when it is connected with the fact that in 1593 new Chinese troops and colonists arrived in Huang-chung, making the peace prospects seem even brighter (ch. 31 p. 19*a*). At any rate, the monastery of Kumbum appears to have developed very slowly. Its first Tsan njid temple was erected in 1600 or 1612,[64] the Sutra temple of Mysticism in 1649,[65] the palace for the Khampo in 1687,[66] the Pakar temple in 1692,[67] Duinkhor Kalacakra College in 1825,[68] College of Medicine in 1850,[69] and the celebrated gilt tiled roof was put on the temple in 1883.[70] Ac-

[63] W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa, *T'oung Pao* 11: 14, 1910. Huth, *op. cit.*, 268.
[64] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 93.
[65] *Ibid.*, 124.
[66] *Ibid.*, 237.
[67] *Ibid.*, 230.
[68] *Ibid.*, 137.
[69] *Ibid.*, 65.
[70] *Ibid.*, 28. Because so much has been written about Kumbum, this study has been confined to the points relating to our subject. The major part of the lama population of Kumbum in 1910–1920 consisted of lamas of Monguor and Tibetan origin from Huang-chung; lamas of Mongolia have always been numerous, while lamas of Tibet constituted a minor group. Since the troubles in Kumbum in 1908–1909, between the Dalai Lama and Achia Hutukhtu, the proprietor of the monastery—reincarnation of the father of Tsong khapa—which ended with

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The Monguor Sumpa was a prolific author, who wrote about all the important subjects related to the curriculum of the studies of lamas. In the official records in Peking, preserved in the Li-fan-Yüan (1793), concerning the subsequent reincarnations of Sumpa, it is said they are indistinct and vague; that maybe they are recorded in Lhasa at the office of the Dalai Lama.[113]

The two Living Buddhas, Chie bzan and Wang, members of the board of five of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, led a sheltered life in their residences and nothing is recorded concerning them.

SUBSIDIARY LAMASERIES FOUNDED BY ERH-KU-LUNG

The influence exerted upon the country of Huang-Shung, and especially upon the country north of the Hsining River, by the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung and its three celebrated personalities was tremendous. The whole country, void of monasteries before 1600, became dotted with institutions of the Yellow Sect, depending on Erh-ku-lung. This unusual fervor for the diffusion of Lamaism seems to account for the disappearance of nearly all the small institutions of the Red Sect in that country, and their absorption into the fold of the Yellow Sect. The forces of expansion radiating from Ch'ü-p'an, Sha-ch'ung, and Kumbum situated south of the Hsining River, never before 1723 matched those radiating from Erh-ku-lung. The reason might be the lack of celebrated, learned, influential monks enjoying the favors of the emperors. This seems to account for the fact that at present a number of small Red communities and two important monasteries of the Red Sect still exist in the country south of the Hsining River.

Sumpa Damchos, the first administrator of Erh-ku-lung, must have been a very capable and intelligent man, devoted to the diffusion of Lamaism. He built his monastery on a solid foundation to prepare learned and pious men. He sent the best of his novices to Tibet to study, and organized studies at home. In the very beginning (1604) he founded the hermitage of Rgyud pagrva,[114] the monastery of Hsien-mi-ssu. In 1915 it was inhabited by 4 Living Buddhas and 160 lamas; it also established two colleges. He founded the hermitage of T'an-rim tarpa, where the young Chang-chia, at the age of five, started his religious life.[115] In 1651, when Chang-chia and T'u-kuan were still children, he sent the vice-administrator of Erh-ku-lung, Dongrub rgyamat'so, of Mongol origin, to Ta-

each subject the main works. He intended to write an encyclopedia from which an idea could be had of the formation and spread of Buddhist thought. . . . It is a rich encyclopedia; harmonious composition is missing. Its value: it purports to be a *summa* of Tibetan historical traditions in which chronicles, myths, saints' lives, political changes, religious doctrines are met, in whose harmony the fortunes of the sacred doctrine of Tsung khapa become a reality and are developed."

[113] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (4) : 16.

[114] *Idem* 1 : 45.

[115] Huth, *op. cit.*, 272.

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three colleges, and Chiar-too-ssu. Forty lamaseries established north of the Hsining River and in the prefectures of P'ing fan, Liang-chou, Kan-chou and Su-chou, originated from Erh-ku-lung or its subsidiaries and were built between 1604 and 1723. 175 772

The prodigious activity in Huang-chung and the flourishing of the monasteries are, beyond doubt, indebted to the position of eminence enjoyed at court by the three learned Monguor lamas and their reincarnations, and to the initial impulse given to Erh-ku-lung by its first Sumpas. Not only Huang-chung, but the whole Yellow Church derived benefits from the zeal of these fervent Monguors. Their influence was also tremendous upon the chiefs of Outer and Inner Mongolia. In Mongolia the fervor of the converted old adherents of the Red Sect to the Yellow Sect can be ascribed in great part to the influence of the Monguor lamas appointed by the emperor as their spiritual guides. This fact also accounts for the large number of Mongol lamas living in the monasteries of Huang-chung. The Mongol monasteries are also indebted to them for the development and organization of their studies on a serious basis. Their learned books were among those used in the Mongol colleges. Most of their teachers had been pupils of these eminent lamas who had studied at Erh-ku-lung, noted as the highest center of learning at that time. Back in their country they vied in building monasteries.[125]

The position of these learned scholars in Peking and the patronage of the Manchu emperors contributed to the development of that copious production, of encyclopedic and compilatory character, which marks the 18th century in Tibetan literary history.[126] [212]

REVOLT OF BLO-BZAN BSTAN-DSIN AND THE LAMAS

The year 1723 marks a turning point in the history of Lamaism in Huang-chung, and ends with one of those tragedies with which history is replete. At the time, Lamaism rode the crest of the wave of glory and success, monasteries and their affiliates dotted the country of Hsining, especially north of the river and far into the Nan-shan. The number of lamas was countless, the people paid enthusiastic adoration to their Living Buddhas. Each family offered one or more of its sons to the service of Buddha. Emperor K'ang-hsi (1662–1722) lavishly bestowed his favors upon Huang-chung, promoting Chang-chia to be the first lama in rank in Peking, and T'u-kuan to be the second. He invested them with diplomatic missions in Tibet and promoted them as the spiritual guides of the Mongol princes. 175 771

The country was at peace and the future filled with the greatest promise, when suddenly, like a colossus on feet of clay, the luxurious Lamaist institution crumbled and collapsed. The lamasery of Erh-ku-lung with 175 579 771

[125] Huth, *op. cit.*, 372-374.
[126] Petech, *op. cit.*, 242. [p. 34(A)]

its 2,500 lamas, from which had radiated a prodigious force of expansion for 120 years, had all its temples, stupas, and homes of lamas burned to the ground; 17 villages and 7,000 houses were destroyed. Full scale fighting erupted between the lamas and the subjects of the monastery, against the emperor's army; 6,000 were killed. At Seerkok, the branch of Erh-ku-lung having 2,000 lamas, not a single temple, stupa, or home was left; 700 lamas and 2,000 of its fighting subjects were killed. The chief of the monastery, Chiebzan Rimpoche, was beheaded. Ch'i-chia-ssu, with its two branches, was leveled to the ground; 500 fighting lamas and 1,000 subjects were killed. The monastery of Chie-bzan vanished in flames; 800 lamas perished or fled. The monastery of Shih-men, a center of revolt, disappeared in a blaze and 700 fighting lamas and subjects were killed. All the lamaseries and important branches situated north of the river were completely ruined; their lamas were either killed or they had fled. At the monastery of Kumbum 300 lamas were beheaded, fled, or were killed. All the temples and homes of lamas were burned, except the head temple.

Nien Keng-yao, commanding the imperial army, said that because of the furious armed resistance displayed by the lamas he had to punish them.[127] The head of the monastery, the mK'ampo, surrendered. The Chinese general informed the emperor about his prisoner. He suggested that by no means should clemency be shown toward him, for he had been the cause of all the trouble, stirring the lamas and the people to revolt. Since nothing more is said about him in the *Shih-lu*, the *Tung-hua-lu* or the *Sheng-wu-chi*, it can be supposed that he was beheaded.[128] During the revolt, two more prominent Living Buddhas were beheaded, Temma grutchen and Nga-ch'i T'u-men-han.[129]

Nothing is recorded about the famous monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, and I have found it impossible to get any information whether or not it participated in the troubles. Lamas like to keep secret in their fold this dishonorable page of their history. This sudden disaster, which ruined all the institutions of Lamaism in Huang-chung, had more far-reaching harmful consequences in the future, from which Lamaism never recovered.

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[127] *Shih-lu, Yung-cheng*, ts'e 145, Chüan 14, 10.

[128] These facts are far from the legend as spread by Filchner: that the Ch'i-T'u-ssu was guarantee for Kumbum, that he was the protector of the monastery and that the amban himself could not interfere with the problem of Kumbum. In reminiscence of this fact, the grateful lamas knelt in greeting to the Ch'i T'u-ssu when he attended the festivals at the lamasery. In fact it was customary for the lamas to greet in corps all the T'u-ssu who attended the festivals with their retinue. The same honor was displayed for the Li T'u-ssu and for the Ch'i T'u-ssu at Erh-ku-lung. All the T'u-ssu who fought on the side of the Chinese at that time were intelligent enough to understand that it was not the time to interfere with the problem.

[129] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 46–48, who relies on *Tung-hua-lu*, *Shih-lu*, *Shen-wu-chi* for the period of Yung-cheng. *Annals* of the province, ch. 46; 55*b*–56*a*, 56*b*.

villagers, who also did not permit such liberties to Living Buddhas. Feeling the stigma attached to his exposure, he committed suicide. It also seems to be evidenced by the fact that penalties are still inflicted upon lamas, in the crudest forms, for infraction of this rule. This stigma is still attached to those who fail to meet their moral obligations.

The reform by means of serious study, however, seems to be a failure among the Monguor lamas of the present times. Among so many Monguor Living Buddhas and lamas, only the Living Buddha Chao-hsi of Kumbum enjoyed some repute, but in order to cause the lamas to attend his instructions, special benefits had to be provided for them. Very few among the Living Buddhas and lamas are interested in study at the present time, and, having nothing to occupy them all day, become involved in vice. Army officers and directors of schools are aware of the necessity of keeping young folk busy the whole day long, alternating fixed jobs with recreation. The lamas, however, except for attendance at the morning convention, which lasts only an hour, have to kill time making their own living.

In the whole region of Hsining not a single school has been established by the rich monasteries, in order to promote the instruction of the Monguors and the Tibetans. Even at present in the lamaseries not a single elementary school exists for the lama boys, and no religious education is given to them. Not a single lama takes care of the spiritual needs and instruction of the adherents to their religion who live in a given area. Not a single hospital has been founded in order to assuage the pains and sufferings of the sick Monguors and Tibetans. The universal charity of Lamaism does not consist in love for one's neighbor, but in a platonic compassion for the universal sufferings of humanity and of all living things and for the impermanence of all existing beings. Lamas are not sisters of charity; they pass the sick draped in their cloak of indifference.[29]

[29] Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, 373, notes: "Among Buddhist believers there has been scarcely anyone who has ever given any thought to social problems. The priests of ancient times were generally recluses who paid no attention whatever to the application of their religion to the needs of the practical world or to making the principles of true Buddhism as distinct as possible."

Kawaguchi, a learned Japanese Buddhist, conversant with the Tibetan language and literature, went to Tibet to study Lamaism, and wrote an instructive note on Lamaism (p. 410). "I confine myself only to a popular exposition of the subject. Lamaism is constituted by two main branches; the older, the 'red cap sect' subdivided into many branches, and the later, the 'yellow cap sect.' They all agree upon cardinal points and in the formula for attaining perfection. The founder of the old sect was a Tantric priest, 'Lobon Padma Chungne' born in Cabul. He enjoined on his disciples the practices of flesh-eating, marriage, and drinking liquors, in order to attain Buddhahood . . . details I cannot give, for they are full of obscenity. The old sect, extremely popular in Tibet, has undergone considerable modification by lamas. . . . I note the reaction against the old sect by Atisha [from India, eleventh century], later by Tsong Khapa [fifteenth century]. The principle of Tsong Khapa was that priesthood must stand on asceticism. Therefore he urged

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More has been done by the chiefs and elders of the villages in promoting justice, creating respect for elders, restoring peace in families, defending the position of the women, preventing adultery, punishing the faults of the youngsters, and making the families happy than by the lamas.

I felt really happy to encounter among this tremendous number of lamas the single exception of the old Living Buddha Li, who in the fasting exercises taught the older people to crave pardon for their faults and to pray, and to hear them say that they were happy to have heard comforting words from the mouth of the old man.

V. THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

GENERAL ASPECTS AND FORMER CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

In Huang-chung, there are not only lamas of the Yellow Sect, the reformed sect of Tsong khapa, but also of the Red Sect, which still adheres to the rules observed before the reform. The red lamas marry, and live, scattered over the country, with their wives and children. They till their fields and raise cattle, indulge in wine and tobacco, eat garlic and nearly all kinds of meat. They perform their rites when invited by the people and live under the direction of a superior, who has far less power over them than the superior of the yellow lamas has over his subjects.

At home they wear the dress of the lay people; when performing rites they wear the usual lama dress—a red gown, the red hat, and a shade before the eyes, adorned with fringes of the five ritual colors. They use the same ritual paraphernalia as the lamas of the Yellow Sect, but they like to use a drum made of two skulls, and to blow a trumpet made of a human thigh bone; they recite their own texts. They seem to lay stress on the cult of water springs. All of them have the duty to perform the Rite of the 108 Springs, which lasts for 129 days, at least once in their lifetime. Some among them perform this rite two or three times. Well versed in magic, they are capable of performing not only the rites performed by the Yellow lamas, but also many other rites prohibited for the Yellow lamas.

All the lamas of Huang-chung belonged to the Red Sect in former times. The lamas of Ch'ü-t'an, the Nang-suo, Karwa lamas, the Dhyana family lamas, the lamas belonging to small monasteries or hermitages,

abstinence from carnal desires, liquor, and he enforced the rules of moral discipline. However, he did not denounce the images worshipped by the old sect, representing men and women in offensive postures, but gave to them a new interpretation of an abstract nature. . . . Externally the two sects do not differ much from each other." And on p. 434: "I am compelled to say that Lamaism has fallen, and that it has assumed a form quite contrary to that to which its great reformer Tsong Khapa elevated it, and I am sincerely sorry for this degeneration."

he honored, and the rites he performed. It will afford an opportunity to study a shamanism influenced by Taoism, honoring Taoist gods, but conserving its original character and living congenially with Taoism. The suppleness of shamanism which, according to the circumstances, adapts itself as well to Lamaism as to Taoism, adopting heterodox doctrines and honoring alien gods,[1] challenges belief. However, it discloses the power of which it disposes, conserving its original rites which betray its origin and basic character. It is interesting to note how rites resist the wear of time better than doctrines.

The facts were all gathered during the ten years I lived among the Monguors, and were checked many times by shamans, chiefs and elders of villages, men and women, and children in the schools, all of whom had attended shamanist rites their whole life long. I attended their rites several times. Since I was best acquainted with the rites of the region situated north of the Hsining River, most of the facts concern that region.

The Mongols call the shamans *BŐ*, the Monguors call them *BŌ*, on account of the lack of the vowel Ö in their dialect. *BŐ* and *BŌ* seem to be a genuine Mongol term. The Chinese of Huang-chung call them *Fa-Shih*, "Master of Magic."

It is not easy to give a definition of shamanism and of shamans who live in a world beset with innumerable good and evil spirits with which the objective of their life is to deal.

The study of shamanism is still very confused, and authors are even unable to find a definition with which they will all agree. W. Schmidt defines the shaman as "a man who is supposed to have the power of making his own person a dwelling place for the spirits, who will speak out of him, but he keeps the power to dominate those spirits and to subdue them to his own will and wishes." [2]

Mircea Eliade, describing the shamanism of Asia, stresses primarily the phenomena of ecstasies and of trance, by means of which the shamans enter in communication with all kinds of spirits—originally with the Supreme Spirit of Heaven, who corresponds morphologically with the Supreme Spirits of the archaic religions—and with the souls of ancestors and the departed. This communication with spirits, residing in the three worlds (heaven, earth, underworld) is symbolized by ascensions to heaven of the shaman or descents into the underworld, the calling down of spirits along the rope or the ladder. The basic element of shamanism consists not of the incorporation of spirits

[1] Walter Heissig, Schamanen und Geisterbeschwörer im Küriye-Banner, *Folklore Studies*, Catholic University of Peking, 3: 1, 1944. This very interesting study reveals the way shamanism adapted itself to Lamaism.

[2] W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, Freiburg in der Schweiz, Paulus Verlag, 9: 243, 1949.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

by the shaman but of the ecstasy caused by the ascension or descent.[3]

Åke Ohlmarks considers arctic and subarctic shamanism. The arctic "genuine shamanism" is founded on a psycho-pathologic base, and originated in the arctic regions out of the hysteria peculiar to this region; the subarctic shamanism originated in primeval magic influenced by the arctic shamanism. The shaman, by means of ecstasy, provides communication between the three worlds, connected by means of an axis (tree, post, or rope) along which move spirits and souls, including those of the sacrificed victims.[4]

In the course of this study reference will be made frequently to the Bön religion, because many facts relating to shamanism are encountered also in Bön, and even in Lamaism. A few words regarding Bön seem to be advisable.

According to Helmut Hoffman [5] the meaning of Bön is not known (p. 137). Bon is the old religion of the Tibetans which existed before the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet in the seventh century (p. 135). It is the Tibetan form of a primitive animism that once spread all over Northern and Central Asia, this animism often being thoroughly blended with genuine shamanist principles (p. 208). At present, the systematized Bön religion is a composite. Its original nucleus was the belief in and fear of good and evil spirits (p. 135) and the worship of Heaven considered as a god of the universe, "Weltgott" (p. 156). Around this nucleus was built a façade made up of elements of the debased but more developed Buddhism (Lamaism) (p. 138), in which also animist-shamanist principles played and still play a prominent part (p. 197). Bön, in competing with Lamaism, adopted many of its rites and institutions and composed its literature according to the pattern of Lamaism.

In the primitive Bön, existing before the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet, Heaven was worshipped not only as an impersonal power, but also as a personal God (p. 156). Hence communication between Heaven and earth was secured by means of a rope or ladder, the "way of the spirits" (p. 153), and by means of the post supposed to reach heaven.[6] Bön likes to emphasize

[3] Mircea Eliade, *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaiques de l'extase*, 434, 439, Paris, Payot, 1951. See also the interesting review of this book by Dominic Shröder, in *Anthropos* 48 (3–4): 671, 1953.

[4] Åke Ohlmarks, *Studien zum Problem des Shamanismus*, 83, Kopenhagen, Gleerup, 1939. See also Horst Kichner, Ein archäologischer Beitrage zur Urgeschichte des Shamanismus, *Anthropos* 47 (1–2): 244, 1952. 47: 1952, No. 1–2, 244. David F. Aberle, "Arctic hysteria" and Latah in Mongolia, *Trans. N. Y. Acad. Sci.*, ser. 2, 7: 291, 1952.

[5] Helmut Hoffmann, Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon Religion, *Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur*, 4, 1950.

[6] Edward Washburn Hopkins, *The religions of India*, 378, Boston, 1895. In early Hinduism there existed already "a festivity for Indra, extending over two days, and marked by the erection of a pole in honor of the god."

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the cosmic tree on the mount Meru. In addition the whole series of good and evil spirits were both honored and combatted in the effort to make them inoffensive. Hoffmann concludes that it is hard to trace a sharp dividing line between the old Bön and shamanism.

It is instructive to read the review of Helmut Hoffmann by R. A. Stein [7] in order to get an idea of the confusion still persisting regarding the subject. Stein holds that the definition of Bön, said to be the religion of the Tibetans before the introduction of Buddhism, is not easy to write down, because Bön as a religious system is only known in its later state of development when it seems to be a variant of Lamaism. Bön conserves more archaic traits of the old popular religion than Lamaism does, but it does not enjoy a monopoly (p. 98), because the facts relating to Bön are encountered in Lamaism as well as in shamanism. The problem of the Iranian origin of Bön is difficult to solve (p. 99). The fact that the Bön worshipped the spirit of Heaven as a personal Supreme Deity seems to have to be taken with cautiousness (p. 101).

Kawaguchi [8] notes that originally Bönism very much resembled Hinduism, but now in theory it is almost Buddhism. Shorn of its sacrifices, its toleration of marriage and use of intoxicants, it is only Buddhism under another name.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE MONGUOR SHAMANS WITHIN THE CLAN

The social conditions of the shamans are the same as those of the commoners of the clan. They are not exempted from land taxes and corvées, but no special corvées are imposed upon them by the chiefs of the villages. They receive remuneration for the performance of rites in behalf of the community. The shamans enjoy no privileges in the Monguor community as was the rule in the time of Chingis Khan.

The Monguor shamans do not live in monasteries, where they might give spiritual help to the people; they live in various parts of the villages, each with his wife and children. Their economic mainstay is tilling the soil and breeding cattle; their subsidiary occupation is the performance of shamanistic rites either for the community of the village or for private families when invited by them. The margin of subsistence of most of the shamans is rather narrow.

No bonds tie them to the village where they are living; shamans of distant villages are invited by the villagers, and the shamans living in the village are frequently overlooked. Some shamans, celebrated all over the country for their proficiency in the art, are invited more often than others by village communities or private families.

The activities of the shamans are not limited by the

[7] R. A. Stein, *Journal Asiatique*, 1952: 97.

[8] Ekai Kawaguchi (Late rector of Gohyakurakan Monastery), *Three years in Tibet*, 131, Adyar, Madras, Japan, 1909.

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philosophy, therefore, explains the Rite of the White Tiger performed today by the Monguor shamans against hail, and the same principle (as we will see later) is applied in the rite of the "goat skin" and of the "wooden raven" against hail. The same philosophy is encountered in the facts previously related by Owen Lattimore among the Fishkin Tatars, by W. Heissig in the Kürye-Banner, and by Shirokogoroff among the Tungus. In all the studies concerning shamanism in Asia this philosophy is attested.[54]

Therein lies the reason why the Monguor shamans practice the cult of the Twelve Tengris and why it must be said that the Monguor shamans are genuine shamans, belonging to the Altaic classification. No hints are available to suggest that the Twelve Tengris were not the initial spirits to which the ancestor of the Monguor shaman dedicated himself, and we have no hints to fix the time when their ancestor shaman lived. It may only be assumed that the Monguor shamans already served the Tengris at the time of the Yüan dynasty when they settled in Kansu, because their Tengris at that time were represented as Mongol warriors and because the shamans in Mongolia practiced for centuries the subarctic form of shamanism.

MONGUOR SHAMANS ENTER THE TAOIST GUILD

It is a well-known fact that among the South Mongolian tribes of the Ordos, Tümed and Chahar regions as well as among the North Mongolian Khalkha . . . Shamanism and other "unorthodox creeds" had since been "outlawed" by the code of the Jassaktu Khan, by the religious proclamation of Altan Khan (1577) and the corresponding decree of the Siditü Gabcu in Khalkha (1587), [but that] certain undercurrents of a popular Chinese Taoist mysticism, known there under the name of *Bon-po* (Bö), had continued for some while, but at the death of Ligdan Khan (1634) the Yellow Sect was well established in these parts of Mongolia.[55]

"Outlawed" does not mean that these "unorthodox creeds," these Bon-po, etc., disappeared because of codes, proclamations, and decrees, for their existence is still attested; but they were persecuted or their activities were restrained.

The Red Sect, patronized by Mongol and Ming emperors and Mongol chiefs, fought a fierce battle against shamanism and Bön. The Yellow Sect fought against the Red Sects from 1558; to these former edicts may be added that of 1640, which had stipulations concerning the suppression of shamanism. "Forty-eight princes and chiefs of Mongol tribes convened in order to fix the so-called 'Mongol-Oirat regulations.'" Among them were Mongol princes of Khalkha, Jungaria, Kukunor (near Hsining) as well as of Siberia, and later two

[54] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 94-98, 413.

[55] Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century. *Anthropos* 48: 493, 1953.

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more supplementary decrees of Galdan Hun-tai-ji were added to them.[56]

From 1558 until 1640, regulations of Mongol chiefs followed each other, aiming primarily at the destruction of shamanism. The Monguor shamans must have known these facts, for news spreads rapidly among barbarians. At the same time they saw the favors bestowed in the country on lamaseries, Karwas, and Nang-suos, by the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, and they saw Erh-ku-lung, at the height of its glory, founding successively its forty-two branches, each having celebrated lamas. Life or death was the question for the Monguor shamans of Hsining.

It is tempting to suppose that the shamans, living in the quasi-independent territories of the T'u-ssu, near cities in which lived Taoist priests who were organized in guilds officially recognized by the empire, might have sought refuge with the Taoists in order to save their institution and traditions and that they might willingly have entered the guild of the Taoists, whose gods they worshipped for centuries.

If the shamans themselves had been opposed to enrollment in the guild, which entailed pecuniary disadvantages for them and the performance of non-remunerative rites in the city, surely the T'u-ssu, whose subjects they were, could easily have prevented the infringement of the rights, since their Monguors were only responsible to them for corvées, and since their subjects were not enrolled in Chinese guilds. Precisely herein lies the stress of the assumption that without the willing cooperation of the shamans, shamans never could have entered the guild, and when they entered the guild it was through fear of persecution by the Yellow Sect. According to this assumption, the shamans could have entered the Taoist guilds before the revolt of the lamas in 1723 and the catastrophe which befell Lamaism. It is easy, therefore, to understand the reluctance of the shamans to perform any rites in the temples dedicated to deities of Lamaism or to wear the crown of the five Dhyani. On the other hand they willingly perform rites in all kinds of Taoist temples, except the temples of Kuan-ti (God of War). I never obtained an explanation of this; in the whole Monguor region no Kuan-ti temple exists, while all the temples of the Monguors, which are the centers of the religious life of the village, are Taoist temples, and most of the protectors of the families belong to Taoism. Monguors cannot miss their shamans who only perform rites in Taoist temples.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the Monguor shamans honor two kinds of spirits—one, spirits belonging to Taoism, and the other, spirits belonging to their shamanism proper; that the Monguor shamans are related to the group of old Wu priests

[56] V. A. Riasanovski, *Customary law of the Mongol tribes (Mongols, Buriats, Kalmuks)*, 29-35, 1929.

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VIII. PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MONGUORS

Having explained the internal structure and organization of Lamaism and shamanism among the Monguors during the period of 1910–1920, and having characterized the ministers of both religions, Living Buddhas, lamas, shamans, and Kurtains, it remains to study in what ways these religions are practiced, and what is the frame of mind of the Monguors toward these religions. 128

After having explained the world of religion and fear in which the Monguors live, first the public rites performed in their society will be dealt with, and then the private rites enacted by them. A chapter will deal with their death and burial customs. Another chapter will deal with the cult of "Heaven and all the Spirits."

The last chapter will put stress on the often overlooked but important role played by religion in helping to preserve the identity of the Monguors, maintaining their traditions and customs, and strengthening the social structure of the clans in order to prevent their absorption by the Chinese.

It should be borne in mind that among the Monguor clans of Hsining, some are of Turkish and some of Mongol origin, but that from the earliest times in Central Asia tribes mixed with tribes; tribes were torn to pieces and scattered over enormous distances, and absorbed by other tribes. On the other hand, it must be remembered that our Monguors, before they were converted to Lamaism, were religious groups who prayed. Among them sacrifices were offered by the heads of the families and of the tribes, and by the shamans. They had previously met peoples practicing Buddhism, Manichaeism, Nestorianism, and also Chinese Taoists, Confucianists, and Buddhists. Even after becoming professing Lamaists, they still remained shamanist, and preserved notions and practices originating from other religious sources. 771

It is a real paradox that Lamaism, contaminated with magic which is diametrically opposed to any religion, denying theoretically the existence of a soul and of God and spirits, has created among its adepts a new enthusiasm of fervor and religiosity. By means of stressing the principle of reversion of merits, it developed the notion of personal responsibility and of duty, by teaching that all good and bad events in this life depend on the performance in the present or former existences of good or bad deeds. Although, according to the fundamental doctrine of Buddhism, the bad acts are irreparable, means are provided to extenuate their inevitable consequences, and even to transfer acquired merits to others, and hence arose the doctrine of universal charity, the alluring physiognomy of Buddhism. 779

However, the Monguors and Tibetans of Huang-chung, in a way that is even illogical, do not take account of the philosophical aspects of Lamaism. They do not care for the doctrinal discussions concerning the 829

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be purified by smoking over cypress boughs, and a sacrifice of a sheep or a hog is required. Every three years the stomach is opened and the decayed animating items are removed. New ones must take their place, because after three years their power has faded away. The Monguors invite the shaman most proficient in this art to perform the rite, since magical efficacy does not seem to be the same among all shamans and for that reason statues are assumed to be the seats of the spirits.

The statues in Lamaist temples need, in the same way, magical bowels; however, the lamas put Tibetan texts inside the statues. The magical power of the statues lasts as long as the Tibetan texts are uninjured.

The role played by the snake in the therapy of debilitated spirits is noteworthy. It will be seen later that the old mountain spirit of the Obo, protector and proprietor of the valley of Sha-t'ang, was healed and rejuvenated by a lot of medicines, among which the snake ranked first.

The table often mentioned above is said to be the seat of the White Tiger, and is used everywhere. It is a low Chinese table, adorned with strips of red cloth or silk and a small copper mirror in front. The four legs represent the legs of the tiger, while on the underpart of the table are painted the intestines and genitalia. It must be animated by the shaman. Often used instead of the sedan chair, it is carried by four men whom it crushes beneath it, or pulls fore or aft when asked for a decision.

CONCLUSION

This chapter gives supporting evidence for the assumption that in the fabric of the religious life of the Monguors, the struggle against the hail spirits and the means of avoiding harm from them are a real obsession and play an overwhelming part. All summer this fear troubles the peace of mind, and mars the happiness especially of older people and chiefs of families. No wonder that every day around noon Monguors start examining the northwest corner of the sky. Everybody, putting on a brave front, brags and boasts about the efficacy of the rites, trying to bolster their wavering courage, but telling beads and muttering "Om Mani," hoping that finally Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" will help them.

Another conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the shamanist White Tiger bears the brunt of the struggle against the evil spirits of hail, and that the Taoist god of the Five Roads and his associates who are magnificiently enthroned in all the village temples, on whose walls they score brilliant successes defeating the evil hail spirits, play a very modest secondary role in the rank and file of the other good spirits and Buddhist deities supposed to lend a hand in the struggle. The Monguors have remained as convinced shamanists as the Turco-Mongol tribes of former times.

The struggle against the hail spirits by an entire com-

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munity, obeying day and night the orders of the chief of the village, pooling all its efforts and putting them at his disposition, reveals the old clan spirit of nomads united in the struggle against forces from abroad; it reveals that the entire community resorts unanimously to religious practices in order to preserve its means of subsistence and that religion in time of fear and distress is a means of securing the cohesion of the group. The civil and religious authority vested in the same chief make religion a constituent of the social organization. This note will be brought out several times further on, in the study of the religious life of the Monguors.[18]

X. VARIOUS PUBLIC RITES

PUBLIC RITES ON NEW YEAR'S

At midnight on New Year's the bell of the temple of the village rings. A group of villagers, comprised of a member of each family, led by the chief of the village, the military commanders and the elders, arrive to honor "Heaven and all the spirits" in the courtyard of the temple, by lighting a big cypress fire, offering steamed bread, raisins, and butter, pouring a libation of wine, and prostrating themselves holding incense sticks in their hands. The chief of the village says: "Heaven and all the spirits, we thank you for all the blessings of the past year, bless us during this New Year, give us good crops, and guard us from hail." Then they return home in order to perform the traditional family rites of New Year's.

On the third, as already noted, the chief of the village, the elders, and a member of each family go to the temple of the village in order to learn the prophecy of the sedan chair or table god, about the events of the New Year. In villages where there is a Kurtain possessed by the spirit of the temple, he is invited for an exhibition, which is attended by the whole community. This New Year's exhibition is the only public office discharged by the Kurtain in the community. After the exhibition there follows the Rite of the Sacred Animal.

During the first month of the New Year, in the villages where there is a temple dedicated to a Lamaist deity, some lamas are usually invited by the community to say prayers for three to seven days, for the peace of the villagers.

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[18] Potanin, *op. cit.*, 397–399 *sqq.*, describes accurately the interesting elaborate rite performed by shamans, enthroning a new image of a Taoist deity (the dragon king), as the new family protector in a Monguor family (probably at the moment of the division of the family inheritance). The performance is a blend of shamanist and Taoist rites. The opening of the eyes of the image and its animation, etc., are performed in the genuine Taoist fashion. The shamanism of this group of Monguors seems to be more adulterated than that of the Monguors living on the northern side of the Hsining River; the deities they honor are all Taoist deities.

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the spirits for so long a time, urged her husband to take with him the fateful picture. The villagers of Li chia t'ai, however, did not allow him to introduce the ill-boding spirits into their village. At night the son-in-law buried the picture in a deserted, ruined house in P'irke. After one or two years the fact became known. The wrath of the P'irke villagers was great enough to bring suit against Li ssu, but the court of Li T'u-ssu ordered the defendant to defray the expenses of inviting twelve shamans (for they honor the twelve spirits) in order to conciliate the spirits, to repair the outrage, and to offer a sheep, incense, and oil. After the preparations were performed, the shamans took with them the picture,[3] and firecrackers were set off. This fact illustrates the peculiar attitude of the Monguors concerning the duty of continuing the cult of the deities honored by the ancestors.

MOST SPIRITS ARE TAOIST

Since nearly every family has an uncle or a son who is a lama, it would seem obvious that most of the deities honored in the families should belong to Lamaism—all the more so because in nearly every valley there is a big or a small wealthy lamasery, and Lamaism reached the highest peak of glory with its celebrated Hutukhtus two centuries ago. However, it seems not to be so. The number of families honoring a Lamaist guardian deity is far smaller than of those honoring Taoist deities, and even the twelve spirits with their black tiger rider of the shamans. This astonishing fact requires an explanation.

The Monguors are a practical people. At the feast of spring, when the shamans invite spirits to come to the temple along the rope, no Lamaist deities are invited, and none arrive. The shamans honor their Tengris and the Taoist spirits, and combat the hail scourge by help from all of them. Honoring at home the same spirits which are honored in the temple of the village will provide more security for their worshippers against the dreaded hail, so most of the Monguors prefer at home the cult of these deities honored by the shamans, who are considered to be more powerful and more expert in this field than the lamas.

The reasons for the Monguor preference for non-Lamaist protector deities, explain why they adopt Taoist or shamanist spirits. It was always said that "Heaven" is never honored as a family spirit. However, in the families, there are encountered the cults of the spirits of the mountain, the earth, the five roads, the dragon king, the mother gooddess, the horse king, and the cow king. The temples of the villages are dedicated to the same spirits. Some families honor the Twelve Tengris of the shamans with the tiger rider. However, most of the Monguors, at the time of the division of the extended family, when they have to choose a new family

[3] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 603. Among the Alar-Buryats, images of family deities must be removed by the shaman who honors the deity.

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guardian deity do not like the cult of the twelve Tengris, 771
although these are considered the most potent protectors 776
among the spirits. The reason alleged is that these 592
spirits are very touchy and do not allow any lukewarmness in their cult and frequently during the year they urge the offering of a sheep. Therefore, the families which honor them are all families which continue a cult initiated generations ago.

However, families whose children are weakly like to dedicate them for thirteen years to the Twelve Tengris, and after thirteen years perform the rite of liberation from the dedication, and nurture the rooster of longevity. (See Part I: 102–103.)

There still exists an unusual custom concerning the cult of the Twelve Tengris for which I never found an explanation. It is customary that the images of guardian deities should be hung on the northern wall in the living room. The image of the Twelve Tengris, however, is never hung, but is kept rolled up during the whole year and put on the offering table along the wall. Only on the first of the first moon, at New Year's, is it hung for three days, and all the members of the families who, before the division of the extended family group, honored these Twelve Tengris and at present honor other deities as their protectors, are bound to come during these three days to worship the Twelve Tengris of their ancestors.

Another emotional but important reason for preferring the cult of a Taoist deity is that the families enjoy more the rite celebrated by the shaman at home for a Taoist family deity, than the rite performed for a Lamaist family deity. The lamas do not in fact honor the ancestors. They recite texts for one or seven days, make a *torma*, and the monotonous and tedious rite is finished. Because an emotional element governs the choice of the family deity, an outline of the shamanist rite will best explain what is involved.

CULT OF THE FAMILY GUARDIAN DEITY

The biennial or triennial rite is performed in the 795
eleventh month. On the first day of the celebration, 756
the same preparations are made by the shamans and 782
their apprentices as at the feast of the spring in the 592
temple of the village, but on a more reduced scale, in- 776
cluding pasting of banners and streamers, planting of the pole, binding of the rope, baking and steaming of rolls, offering of sheep, thrones for the ancestors, the hearth god, spirits of the horses, the gate, and for the protector spirits of each of the families of the brothers.

At midnight "Heaven and all the spirits" are worshipped in the courtyard by the whole family. Firecrackers are set off. On the morning of the second day the spirits are invoked and come down along the rope. Among them are the gods of the hearth, the granaries, the stables, the doors, the grindstone, the fertilizers, the well, the horses, the cows, and the last three generations of ancestors. There are the usual prostrations, in-

village started ridiculing and deprecating him. Buddha could not stand this, and made five tongues protrude out of the chief's mouth and made him fall dead on the spot, after which the village became a barren waste. 539

Another of the Living Buddha's topics, several times repeated to me, was that all the Monguor and Tibetan tribes would disappear, many families already being without male issue. The reason, he said, is that nearly all the departed already dwell in paradise and wait there for us, so that now the faster Monguors and Tibetans disappear, the sooner paradise will be furnished with happy inhabitants. "Make your sons become lamas," he would say, "for lamas surely arrive in paradise. However, among the dying, only those who, at the very moment of their death, trust in Buddha may hope to be reborn in a lotus near Buddha, where for thousands of years they will be happy, and where all the inhabitants will be taller and stronger and more beautiful than we are here."

Such are the topics of most of the preaching during the fast exercises. Many times the fasters repeated that they loved the old Li because after every preaching he made them crave for pardon for all their sins, and because he could say the Om Manis over his beads with a wonderful unction. He had touched the hearts of the people. 538

IMPACT OF THE FASTING RITES UPON MONGUOR SOCIETY

Although these exercises were only attended by a relatively small number of older people, their impact upon the families cannot be overestimated, because the old people repeated at home the topics of the lectures and the anecdotes, and because, since the authority with which the old people are vested in a patriarchal society is supreme, they cultivated in the orbit of the family the sense of religiosity; the habit of praying and of craving for pardon. Chiefs, and elders of villages who had attended the meetings, unconsciously and unwittingly were guided by these principles in the administration of the village and in the patching up of troubles. The impact was all the more important because, year after year, the exercises were repeated by the adored old Li, a man with an illustrious pedigree, a scion of the noble and wealthy family of the Li T'u-ssu. The old Li was a personality who provoked a revival of religious feeling in the country. 771 785 869

The anecdotes, ingenuously narrated in the schools by the children, had led me to make inquiries among the fasters themselves about the fast exercises, which before had seemed to me to be an unimportant institution, attended by old women without any bearing on the religious life of the communities. However, taking account of the overall number of the yearly participants in the six centers, and the number of men who attended them, even chiefs of villages and elders, and of the fact that in a patriarchal society the old people wield a supreme influence and also of the strong personality of

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the old Li, I understood that for a people endowed with these religious convictions, Om Manis were the sheet anchor when things got stormy, and that they could fall on their knees and crave for pardon for their sins and pray, when hailstorms mistreated their means of subsistence. 771 785 869

Probably the fast exercises were, at that time, one of the mightiest means for promoting the religious feeling inherent in Lamaism. Although the lamas never preach for laymen, in the monasteries, and although a lama only has a talk with them once in a while about religion, and although there are no schools run by lamas, the people knew by means of these fasting exercises that an all-powerful being exists whom the lamas call Buddha, who is all benevolence and goodness, and ready to forgive and to help. They knew the difference between the good Buddhas and the spirits, among which some were really evil beings trying to harm them, and others were so touchy that a trifle could upset them. They knew that a terrible omniscient judge of death exists who controls heaven and the eighteen hells, who decides about their future, according to their acts. They knew that at death their existence was not finished.

However, if account be taken also of what the shamans say at the feasts of the communities and the magical performances enacted by them in behalf of the community and private families, their savage struggle with evil spirits, the ownership of the country and the villages by powerful spirits, the cult of the ancestors subject to decay, the importance of the hearth god and all the spirits who are considered to administer independently their own departments, with punishments or blessings, who are supposed to know the acts of the people and their feelings toward them, it is easy to understand also why a tremendous confusion should exist in their religious thought processes, and why they should act according to the circumstances in unforeseen and confusing ways.

PRODIGALITY OF THE MONGUORS CONCERNING CULT AND RELIGION

175 792

In 1914 a strong group of four or five hundred lamas, clad in rags and dirt, passed through the city of Hsining on the way to Seerkok. They were lamas of the Yellow Sect, belonging to different lamaseries situated south of the Yellow River. The whole country was upset. Rumors were spread concerning an impending revolt, organized by the lamas against the newly established Chinese Republic. Spies were sent all over the country in order to discover clues. After a few days the officials announced that the group had been invited by Seerkok in order to pray for blessings upon the Republic.

The fear of the lamas turned after a few days into a reputation for fantastic sainthood, and Monguors and Tibetans ran to Seerkok in order to offer gifts. The richest families competed with each other to provide the expenses for entertaining for one day these saintly

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

wang, the god who protects against hail, Wu tao. Although they are accustomed to saying that all the spirits are Tengri and Purgan, they seem to prefer to use the term Tengri. *Purgan* seems to be a relatively recent term, introduced after Lamaism had been spread among them, for they seem to prefer "Purgan" when speaking about gods of Lamaism. However, they always say that *"uluon purgan"* means all the spirits, and not only the Lamaist deities.

Because in the formula *"Tiengere,"* often *"Sge Tiengere,"* "Heaven," "Great Heaven" are always used first, it is obvious that the "spirit of Heaven" seems to be prominent among the spirits in the mind of the Monguors. This prominence of Heaven is shown by the Monguors in a very conspicuous way at the time when a sheep is offered to the guardian spirit of the family, by the fact that, first of all, a piece of the skin of the forehead is cut and thrown toward Heaven in the courtyard, with the cry, "Heaven." Then a second piece is cut and thrown in the courtyard with the cry, "All the spirits," and finally the sheep is offered to the guardian deity. It is shown also at the time of the offering of a sheep to the Obo spirit on top of the mountain, when three ladles of broth are thrown in the air—first, for "Heaven," and then, consecutively, three ladles to each of the four points of the compass for all the spirits, *"Uluon purgan."*

However, is it permitted, on account of this striking prominence, to jump to the conclusion that the "spirit of Heaven," or "Great Heaven" is a monotheos, and that the Monguors of 1910–1920 were monotheists? Monotheists are considered as worshipping but one God. People who worship and offer sacrifices to Heaven and all the spirits are consequently considered polytheists, no matter how prominent the "spirit of Heaven" may be.

Does this formula justify the conclusion that the "spirit of Heaven" is the chief of all the spirits, whom they all have to obey; that the "spirit of Heaven" alone administers the departments both blessings and punishments, and that the "spirit of Heaven" is omnipotent?[3]

When I asked the Monguors about the abode of the spirits, they always pondered for a few moments, as if they did not understand the meaning of my question, and then they answered: "Of course the spirits are everywhere." Indeed it seemed obvious, in view of my European frame of mind, to interpret the expression, "Heaven and all the spirits" as meaning that all the spirits enjoyed happiness together in Heaven with their supreme chief, the great spirit of Heaven. However, the Monguors assured me that the spirits are independent of one another, and independent of the spirit called Heaven; that each of them administers its own department, and that they all know the intimate feelings and behavior of the people toward them and bless or punish accordingly. Therefore, the Monguors are afraid to offend any of them and propitiate the spirit they are

[3] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217. [p. 179 (B)]

supposed to have offended. It is for that reason that during the rite of spring all the spirits are invited by the shamans to come down along the rope to be honored by the villagers so that all of them may extend their protection. 772 732

In the Halachih Valley, among subjects of the Lu T'u-ssu, I encountered the following case. At the time of division of a parental inheritance, a son considered that the decision made by the elders of the village was unjust toward him, and at the very moment when he should have appended his signature, he ran into the courtyard, pencil in hand, crying toward the sky: "Twelve Tengris, protectors of our family, you know that the division is unjust, that I am compelled to apply my signature." Then he entered the room and signed. In such circumstances the ultimate recourse of every Chinese would inevitably be to invoke "Old Father Heaven" and never another spirit. 776 428

Carpenters, building a temple in Sumdoo, having had trouble with the chief of the tribe, proposed to go to the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in order to take the oath before the statue of Buddha. The chief answered, "No need to go so far, take the oath here, Buddha is everywhere; he will know it." 776 466

The belief that all the spirits are everywhere, know all things, bless and punish independently, and that they are just and equitable, is deeply ingrained in the minds of the Monguors of today. It is easy to understand that in a society in which each department is administered by a particular spirit, independent and omnipotent in its sphere, little room is left for the activities of the "spirit of Heaven"; that finally "Heaven," the "Great Heaven," occupies a role of honorary dimensions and nominal importance, and the characteristics and activities of the "spirit of Heaven" among the Monguors are hard to define. 776

Can "Heaven," which is unable to control the good spirits, control the evil spirits? According to the Monguors, no spirit can control the department of its neighbor, and so in case of interference of evil spirits, magical devices are contrived in order to drive away and combat the evildoers and make them harmless. The good spirits, however, are invited to participate in the struggle against them. When the spirits of hail threaten the village with devastation, magic devices are used by the shamans, and the spirit protectors of the village are carried to the battlefield, and Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" are invoked. If they are unable to match their opponents, they abandon the struggle, rushing with their carriers through rivers and precipices. Good spirits can lend a hand in the struggle, but they may lose the battle and—so much for "Heaven and all the spirits." Facts speak for themselves.

Is not this fierce struggle between good and evil spirits, between representatives of two opposite worlds, reminiscent of Manichaeism, fervently practiced by Turkic peoples in Central Asia during the last centuries of the first millennium? [p. 150(A)] 771

Does the joke played during the spring feasts between the shamans, concerning the making of men and women by the good Tengris, and the storm caused by the nefarious Erlik in order to disturb the good actions of Tengris, not warrant also the same assumption? Or is the struggle between two opposite powers a specific characteristic of shamanism? If so, it is no wonder that shamanism was a field well prepared for the planting of Manichaeism, with its dualistic principle of light and darkness, whose powers were engaged in an endless struggle. 771

BEHAVIOR OF THE MONGUORS TOWARDS HEAVEN

The whole day long the Monguors, like their neighbors the Chinese, use the word "Heaven" in their conversation. They use the Chinese expressions: "Heaven knows it," "Heaven sees all things," "It is impossible to cheat Heaven," "Heaven punishes him," "Heaven rejects him," "Heaven does not bless him," "Heaven determines destiny," "It was decided by Heaven"; even a child born out of wedlock or by a girl married with the pole, is called "born by Heaven." 772

One can easily be impressed by this fact and induced, at first glance, to believe that the Monguors are very dutiful toward Heaven, and harbor convictions that they depend entirely on Heaven; that they trust in Heaven alone in all circumstances of life, and that Heaven is considered the omnipotent, omniscient, equitable regulator of the universe and its inhabitants. However, when a happy event is announced they clap their hands, and with a gleam in their eyes happily say, "Om Mani, Om Mani"; when bad news is broken they say pitifully and sorrowfully, "Om Mani, Om Mani"; when they are suffering with pain, or when a calamity is imminent, they will sigh imploringly, crying, "Om Mani, Om Mani . . . help us!" The first cry of the heart is never a cry toward "Heaven" but the Om Mani to Buddha, for everybody knows that Buddha, who knows all things, is the personification of benevolence, always willing to help. 772 788 776

What is the factual position of Heaven in the fabric of the daily life of the Monguors? After the first surge of emotion and the cry to the benevolent Buddha, the "practical" Monguors start reasoning about the causes of the mischief. Because their world is crowded with mischievous spirits, they try to detect the mischief-maker, or to determine whom among the spirits they have injured. When a member of the family is smitten with a severe disease, they suspect that they have offended the god who is the proprietor of the soil of their courtyard, the god of the hearth, the guardian deity of the family, or that they are the victims of the pranks of some evil spirit or of roaming souls which they had neglected to feed. Epizootics and epidemics, are supposed to be sent by the offended god who is the proprietor of the village or of the Obo. Lack of success 772 776 [753]

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

though Babylonians and Assyrians had a trend toward monotheism, they never fulfilled it. They always preserved their monarchic polytheism with a prominent god, chief of an army of innumerable gods."[9] In Persia, at the time of the Achaemenians (688–333 B.C.), Ahura Mazda received the highest worship instead of the god of Heaven, and was assumed to be preeminent among the other deities.[10] It is interesting to encounter today the same trend of mind among the Buriats.

> In general all Buriat groups have their own supreme deities, either special to themselves or shared with the rest of the Buriat world; with these deities they stand in a relationship of direct descent and they invoke the deities in time of need. The supreme ancestor of a given group may be one to whom that group attributes the descent of all Buriats.[11]

In concluding this section it is appropriate to remember that it is a fact that the true concept of a creation *ex nihilo* has not been found in any philosophical system or religion except the Biblical revelation; even the specific concept of the transcendency of God has not been expressed by any philosophical system or religion except Christianity.

In order to understand the psychology of the Monguors regarding the "spirit of Heaven," it seems advantageous to recall first what is known about the subject among the old Turkic-Mongol tribes, ancestors of the Monguors; second, to recall the religious experiences through which these tribes passed at the hand of foreign religions diffused in their countries. It will be well also to consider the impact of Nestorianism, especially upon the Mongols upon whom the Monguors depended, and the effects of this impact in relation to the idea of the "spirit of Heaven."

CULT OF HEAVEN AMONG THE TURKIC-MONGOLS

It is common knowledge that the Turkic-Mongol[12] tribes of Central Asia, according to historical data, rec-

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[9] *Ibid.*, 698.

[10] Albert Carnoy, *La religion des Perses*, 306, Jos. Huby Christus, Paris, Beauchesne, 1923.

[11] Professor Lawrence Krader, Buriat Religion and Society, *Southwestern Jour. Anthropology* 10 (3): 339, 1954.

[12] René Grousset, *Empire Mongol, Ire phase*, 1–3, De Boddard, Paris, 1941. Only on linguistic grounds can we vindicate the existence of an Altaic group including Turks, Tungus, and Mongols. Only from the sixth century A.D. was the term "Turk" used for one of the proto-Turkic tribes. In the twelfth century appeared the term "Mongols" as generic name of the proto-Mongol tribes. Earlier, however, the Hsiungnu tribes (third century B.C to second century A.D.), and T'opa tribes (who occupied North China in the fifth and sixth centuries) spoke Turkic languages; the Hsienpi (second century), the Juan-Juan in Mongolia, the Hephthalites in Turkestan (fifth century), and the Ch'i-tan (who occupied North China 907–1125) spoke Mongol languages. The Hsiungnu Turks dominated Central Asia until the second century, A.D., the Hsienpi Mongols dominated East Mongolia in the second century A.D.; T'opa Turkic tribes succeeded in the struggle for domination

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The White Banner was inhabited by the "guardian genius" of Chingis, it would protect his troops and lead them to victory; he would conquer all peoples, for the "Everlasting Blue Sky" had so ordained.[29] 797 175 643

In the same way "Ahura Mazda, among the Achaemenians in Persia, [688–330 B.C.], was said to grant to the great kings their power over other peoples, and to bestow upon them victories."[30] In ancient China "Heaven" was believed either to give or withdraw the emperor's mandate.[31]

Chingis was not only religious, he was superstitious. The need to know the will of "Everlasting Blue Sky" and of "the guardian spirits" was a constant stimulus for communing with "shamans," sorcerers, and divinators.[32] "He believed Kokchu could ascend the 'Sky' and had powerful protectors among the genii."[33] "He instituted the post of *beki* who was to be the state's chief priest, [a shaman], vested with power and officially recognized."[34] "He was fond of Ye-lü Ch'ü-tsai for he was a skillful astrologer."[35] "Chingis viewing all religions with equal favor remained himself a good shamanist, true to the traditions of his people."[36] "He remained a primitive shamanist nomad with a rudimentary sense of moral responsibility to the 'Everlasting Sky' and the 'guardian spirits' and with a fully developed instinct of acquisition."[37] 175 643 771

The impact of Nestorianism among the Mongols was not profound. Professor N. Poppe, reviewing the study of W. Schmidt concerning the religion of the Mongols,[38] notes: 771

> According to the author the Mongols had monotheism and recognized Heaven as the Supreme power. Heaven was in their opinion, the lord of life and death, was eternal, immortal and omniscient (46–47). The statement about the recognition of that Supreme power by the ancient Mongols is corroborated by quotations of sayings mentioning Heaven and attributed by ancient authors to Chingis Khan, his son Ögedei, the emperors Güyük and Mönke and other historical persons. These sayings were however preserved in writings of various authors who wrote their works much later. Therefore, the question arises whether those sayings are authentic. It is possible that in a number of cases the mention of God as "the creator of the sky and earth" attributed by later writers to the Great Yasa and other documents, reflects ideas inspired in the authors by medieval European theologians, as Dr. Pallisen believes.[39]

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[29] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 65.
[30] Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 306.
[31] H. G. Creel, *Confucius the man and the myth*, 147, New York, John Day Company.
[32] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 81.
[33] *Ibid.*, 82.
[34] *Ibid.*, 77.
[35] *Ibid.*, 105.
[36] *Ibid.*, 109.
[37] *Ibid.*, 167.
[38] *Anthropos* **48**: 327, 1953; W. Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee* **10**: 1952.
[39] Nicolaus Pallisen, Die alte Religon des mongolischen Volkes und die Geschichte des Verhältnisses der Mongolen zu anderen Religionen während der Herrschaft der Tschingisiden. 1949.

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We have to take into consideration also the fact that many of the historians of this Mongol period, such as Rashid ed-Din (1302), Djouwayni (1260), and others, were Moslems, who might easily have been influenced by the tenets of their own religion in this matter, and have reflected these ideas in their writings.

Besides the very serious doubts concerning the authenticity of the texts, there arise problems of the value of these texts in explaining the cult of Heaven as it existed before Chingis and before the imperial family professed (?) or protected Nestorianism, and also the question of the real impact of Nestorianism inside the imperial family through cult and rites, and upon the bulk of tribes which are called Mongol. P. Pelliot states that "Nestorianism was the religion of most Turkic tribes and perhaps of a few genuine Mongols." [40]

It is common knowledge, corroborated by the testimony of travelers in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,[41] that the Mongols and Turks during the Yüan dynasty worshipped a host of spirits and Öngüts, and were as fervent addicts of shamanism as Chingis himself.

Professor Louis Hambis writes: "The Mongols at the time of Chingis did not honor a Supreme God, but they worshipped Heaven and Earth, and their formula for taking an oath started with an invocation to the god of heaven and to the deity of earth." [42]

René Grousset notes that: "When Chingis started with his campaign against the Naiman, he made solemn sacrifices to the Banner, in which the 'Sulde,' the protector spirits of his army, were supposed to reside." [43]

At present there exists the same confusion concerning the notion of Heaven among the Mongols of the Ordos as among the Monguors.[44] No wonder that after the overthrow of the Mongol dynasty, which had long since become thoroughly Buddhist, Nestorianism almost completely disappeared from among them.[45]

NESTORIANISM AMONG THE MONGUORS

Among the Monguors and the Chinese of the region of Hsining, I never encountered any facts pointing to the possibility that Nestorianism had been practiced in former times. Yet Marco Polo (born in Venice in 1254), during his long stay in Kan chou in 1274, must have made an excursion to Hsining with his father *Nicolo and his Uncle Matteo. Among many minute de*tails concerning Hsining he records: "The population

[40] P. Pelliot, *Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extreme Orient*, *op. cit.*, 643.

[41] A. Van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, 231, 232, Puaracchi, Firensie, 1929.

[42] Pelliot and Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan*, 411, Leiden, Brill, 1951.

[43] Grousset, *Empire Mongol, Ire Phase*, *op. cit.*, 159.

[44] A Mostaert, *Folklore Ordos*, Peking, Catholic University, 1947.

[45] *Ibid.*, *Bull. Catholic University of Peking* 9, Nov. 1934; Ordosica; Les Erkut, descendants des Chrétiens médiévaux chez les Mongols Ordos.

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legiance to him.[51] War broke out and finally a new dynasty arose, the Hou Han, 947–950.

Did the defeated Shat'o troops of the Hou Chin join the faithful governor? Did they submit to the new Hou Han dynasty and remain in their own country? Did the Öngüts of the northern bend of the Yellow River come over to lend a hand? For how long did the Öngüts remain in that troubled country? At least the Öngüts of Lin T'ao were taken prisoners and transplanted to Manchuria, not by the Liao (907–1125) but by the Kin (1125–1235).

It is common knowledge that the Öngüts of both Shat'o dynasties (923–947) were fervent adherents of Buddhism, as were the Shat'o of Hsining, who built the imposing monastery of Ta-fo-ssu in the very center of the city of Hsining (1280–1368). (See Chap. II, p. 14.)

Even if we suppose that Nestorianism were diffused among the Hsining Shat'o, certainly it would not have been done by the Buddhist Shat'o dynasties, but by the Shat'o from the northern bend of the Yellow River, who immigrated into Lin T'ao, if at that time they were already Nestorians. Furthermore, can the apparitions in the vision of the emperor T'ai tsung definitely be explained as Nestorian images worshipped by the Lin T'ao Öngüts, or could they have been Buddhist or Manichean images? This question is still controversial.[52]

All that I can say in summing up is that I never could succeed in tracing any evidence that Nestorianism was ever professed by the Shat'o of Hsining.

CONCLUSION OF THE CHAPTER

If the Heaven beliefs of the Turkic-Mongol tribes are to be assessed in conjunction with what is known about the Monguors, whose ancestors settled in Huang-chung in 1227, at the time of the death of Chingis Khan, then taking into account the Monguor formula of "Heaven and all the spirits," the cult of an undefined Heaven, the host of honored spirits and the predilection for shamanism which survived the intensive indoctrination of Lamaism experienced by the Monguors in Huang-chung, it seems sound to assume that among other Mongol tribes "Heaven" must have occupied a similar position of honorary preeminence.

The tangled problem may be summarized as follows. In former times the old Turkic-Mongol tribes had no notion of a heaven or a hell where, after death, men would be rewarded for their merits or punished for their sins. They lacked the notion of an immortal soul. The soul, after having dwelt for a short while near the burial place, or in an undefined underworld, was supposed to vanish. Even at present the Monguors believe that their ancestors vanish after three generations. Their aspirations and hopes were, ac-

[51] *Idem.* 4: 68.

[52] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 308–309. [p. 156(B)]

cordingly, concentrated on the happiness and help needed during their actual lifetime here on earth.

However, they had populated the world with a host of good and evil spirits on which they thought they depended. They curried the favor of the good spirits and tried to secure their good disposition so that they would stay the hands of the evil spirits, and bless them during their lifetime here on earth. Among those spirits was the Spirit of Heaven, whose nature we have no means of distinguishing from that of the other spirits to whom more sacrifices were offered. (See above, p. 153.)

The shaman, whom they knew to have access to the world of spirits, was only engaged in providing them with the protection and benefits needed during their life. At present the activities of the shamans are still limited to that same sphere of action. The diffusion of Buddhism opened new vistas in the world of religious thought of the Turkic-Mongol peoples. A Buddha of benevolence appeared, enthroned in a paradise to which all people could have access and where all could enjoy happiness during the time preceding a new, happy rebirth. The concept of this intervening time became so endlessly long that the idea of rebirth was practically forgotten and put aside. However, a more concrete notion of the soul came to be developed.

In addition to the paradises, Buddhism revealed the existence of the eighteen hells and the presence of the terrible judge of the dead who decided about the future, according to acts morally good or bad. The shamans also told about Erlik Khan. However, the Turkic-Mongol tribes living on earth still hoped for blessings here, and were taught that the benevolent Buddha could secure them. Hence, next to the cult of the old spirits was the cult of Buddha, the throng of devotees invoking blessings and protection through the Om Mani. In this way the fervent shamanists became also fervent Lamaists.

We have no way of making sure what the impact of Nestorianism may have been upon the Turkic-Mongol tribes in later times, in promoting the development of a more concretely defined notion of the "spirit of Heaven," and its preeminence over the other spirits or even how long such an impact may have lasted. We do know, however, that Turkic-Mongol tribes honored Heaven and offered sacrifices to it, as well as to Buddha and all the spirits, and that consequently they were not monotheists.[53]

XV. RELIGION AND THE COHESION OF THE CLAN

The Monguor clans, from the time of their submission to the Chinese empire (1368), were friendly disposed toward the empire. Their chiefs received military titles and offices, and enjoyed the right to admin-

[53] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217, *et seq.* [p. 157] (A/]

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

canted their origin. They still know pretty well that their ancestors were Monguors, however, and after two-hundred years, the women, at death, still have to be laid out in the coffin in the Monguor skirt. "Chinese" of such origin always remained addicted to shamanism and Lamaism, notwithstanding the fact that they also built Taoist temples and supported Taoist priests.

The second thing which turned the Monguor society upside down after 1723 was the improvement of material conditions. Peace and stability having been assured, and areas for expansion having been opened to agriculture, more Chinese moved into the country, commerce started to develop and flourish. New markets were opened by the Chamber of Commerce of Hsining, connected with those of the capital of the province. The Monguors, inpoverished by the previous chronic inroads of Mongols and Tibetans and the recent revolt, were now more prosperous. Many Monguor commoners became rich, even richer and more influential than many member of the nobility, and they began to be appointed chiefs of villages, military commanders, and elders. The nobility correspondingly lost influence and prestige. Because there were Chinese among the commoners, the way of thinking, settling troubles, and administering the villages became more and more Chinese.

The intercourse of the Monguors with the Chinese became more intensive through commercial relations. The richest Monguors started sending their boys to Chinese schools, marrying Chinese girls, who abhorred the dress of the Monguor women, and refused to speak the Monguor language. More and more Monguors, under the impact of Chinese culture, were ashamed of being called barbarians and preferred to claim to be Chinese. Long since, the chiefs of the clans, the T'u-ssu, had set the example by marrying Chinese girls, to such an extent that many among them were unable to speak the language of their subjects. Nationalism in language never having existed among them, the Chinese language began to be used indiscriminately at the village meetings and at the performance of religious rites by shamans and lamas. All official documents were written in Chinese, and so nearly all Monguors understood and spoke the Chinese language but used their Monguor language when conversing among themselves. However, they remained members of the Monguor clans, even though the Chinese officials did not prevent them from abandoning their clan chiefs with the same rigidity as in former times. They conserved their old customs and traditions and the old social organization.

What was the reason for these facts? On the one hand, the economic benefits attached to the T'u-ssu institution are to be taken into serious consideration. However, on the other hand, the religious factor is not to be overlooked. The entire fabric of the Monguor social organization was woven in an atmosphere of religion which caused them to remember that they were

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not Chinese and which held them close together. First of all, stress is to be put on the old cult of the ancestors, deeply embedded in the consciousness of the Turco-Mongol tribes. Among the Hsien-pi is already noted the "ox cart with the images or tables of the ancestors"; it is noted among the Ch'i-tan [1] and recorded among the Mongols in the thirteenth century.[2] Among the oldest Turco-Mongols, in the formulas of invocation of spirits, "Ancestors, Heaven and earth spirits, and deities" are included, "ancestors" enjoying the preeminency.[3] Chingis Khan became an important deity among the Mongols. No wonder that the cult of the ancestor of each of the Monguor clans is vital. A new cemetery was built for the founding ancestor, and an ancestor hall, the register of genealogies started with him, and his cult is performed yearly, accompanied by brilliant festivities at the clan diet. It is the big holiday of the whole clan. The accession of the new T'u-ssu is announced to the clan ancestor, whose blessings are asked for every year at the ceremony of the opening of the seal.[4] All the officials of the clan have to honor the ancestor at that time. These observances are a great means of strengthening the cohesion of the clan.

Like the Mongol tribes who honored their ancestors on an ox cart before their tent, the Monguors never fail to honor their ancestors of the three senior generations of each family at the time of the most important religious rite performed in spring. The cult of the ancestors is so deeply ingrained in the consciousness of every family, that the cult of its guardian deity has become that of the ancestors of the three immediate senior generations.

An interesting fact illustrates this frame of mind. Among the thirteen villages of Sha-t'ang Valley one is called the village of the Kan family. In 1914 fourteen families bearing the name of Kan were still living there. These families, according to their own traditions, are desecendants of the Third House of the Kan T'u-ssu [5] established in the region south of Nien-pei. Before 1723, on account of disturbances in the country and better living conditions in lamasery territory, they moved to Sha-t'ang and became subjects of the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung. After the revolt they became Chinese subjects, without bonds with their old clan.

In 1914 I happened to learn that still, every year, at the time of the worshipping of the ancestor of the Kan clan, a member of the Third House traveled to Mo-tou, the ancestral cemetery, three days distant, to attend the ceremony, to contribute to the expenses of the sacrifice, to bring a fixed amount of copper coins for the upkeep of the ancestral temple (fifty coins per member of each of the families), to have the names of the members who

[1] Rolf Stein, *T'oung Pao* 35: 68-69, 1940.
[2] A. Van de Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana* 1: 37, 1929.
[3] W. Schmidt, *op. cit.* 9: 13.
[4] L. Schram, *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier*, Part I: 48.
[5] Schram, *op. cit.*, 32.

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died during the year entered in the family register, and to bring back a piece of pork pie for each of the families in order that they might partake of the sacrificial meal offered to the ancestor at the cemetery. After more than two-hundred years, and notwithstanding the fact that no bonds bound them to the clan, the old ancestor cult still made them remember their origin and bound the clan tightly together. 771 769

The chief of the clan, at the time of his triennial visit to the villages, brings with him the picture of the guardian deity of the clan in order that all the villagers may honor it in a group and feel united, putting their hope in the protection of the same deity. A temple is built for the guardian deity of the clan inside the mansion of the clan chief, where it is honored by a lama chaplain every day of the year in order that the clan may be blessed. 614 769

This study has made clear the role of the chiefs of the villages in promoting the religious rites against the scourges of hail, epidemics, and epizootics, fixing the rite of the sacred animal, imposing even continence, prohibiting indulgence in liquors and garlic by the performers of certain rites, forbidding the singing of obscene songs in the village during the time the crops are growing in the fields, and assessing every family a certain contribution to defray the cult expenses. 614 771

All these religious functions of the chiefs of the clans and the villages promote cohesion among the clan members and strengthen the social structure of the institution. The keen interest displayed by the clan and village chiefs in devising means to avert the harm caused by evil spirits and to provide blessings of the ancestors and all the spirits upon the clan members cannot but tie the entire clan group by closer bonds and make it feel solidarity with the chiefs, in the struggle for life.

The fact of each family having an uncle, son, or nephew among the members of the lamaseries, even Living Buddhas, necessarily welds the families together in a strong united group. 593 769

In the Monguor families, the cult of the ancestors participated in by all the members of the extended family at New Year's and on the three days preceeding the clan diet, the cult of its old guardian deity protector inherited in each generation by the eldest son, the celebration every year, with all the members of the extended family contributing toward defraying the expenses to honor it, and the gathering of the whole family before this deity every time a branch of the divided families gets into serious trouble—all these facts provide solidarity in the family by religious means. The family chief not only cares for the administration of the wealth and support of its members, but he is its religious chief who, every morning, honors "Heaven and all the spirits" by means of the Wei-sang in behalf of them, and is their representative at the performance of the public rites in the village. His authority is, in large

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part, based on religion and exercised in religious matters. 593 769

In the same way, the chiefs of the villages and the elders not only determine taxes, impose corvées and settle troubles, but preside over and perform religious rites without representatives of religions, on the top of the Obo mountain, or the sacred hill of the village, in time of calamities, on top of the highest mountain of the village, in behalf of all the villagers. They are the priests of the clan, promoting at the clan meeting, during the mediation of troubles, the principles of justice and respect for elders. They defend the traditions and customs of the clan of which the religious rites are a part, and urge their performance. To sum up, of the routine events and observances of village life, eight-tenths are religious.

The religious world to which the Monguors are accustomed is compulsory, and entirely different from that of the Chinese. It makes them feel that they are not Chinese, that the meaning of their lives is not the same as that of the Chinese and therefore that they are tightly bound to the community of their clan. The performance of religious rites over the span of a whole year constitutes a part of their traditions and customs. It helps tremendously in holding them close together, and prevents their absorption into the Chinese nation. 771 [186]

This fact is so striking that Monguors who, on account of political events, have become separated from their original communities, or who publicly have recanted their origin, still know perfectly well that they are Monguors. They always continue to indulge in some religious practices specific to the Monguors. Religion causes them to recall their origin.

XVI. CONCLUSION

The study of the diffusion of Lamaism among the Monguors sheds some light on the policy adopted by the emperors toward Lamaism. 648 771

POLICY OF CHINA TOWARD LAMAISM

It is common knowledge that the emperors promoted Lamaism. This policy has very often been explained as having been a device to debilitate the Mongol and Tibetan tribes, by encouraging enrollment in the monasteries of the largest possible number of the young, most turbulent elements of the tribes. Withdrawing the young from their tumultuous environment weakened the power of the tribes, who were always ready and poised to make inroads and work havoc in the marches on China. The entire history of the marches of China is replete with such tragic events. Alternatively, it has been suggested that this policy was founded on the hope that the barbarians would become peaceful and quiescent through contact with Lamaism.

The truth is that the Chinese were too conversant with their own history and too mindful of the harm

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wrought by barbarians in their country to indulge in such utopian hopes. They knew too well that more or less powerful tribes never had lived peaceably next to each other; that peace had reigned inside Mongolia and Tibet only as long as an all-powerful chief was able to subdue and to dominate the tribes, but that immediately after his death the tribes had always dispersed and began a new cycle of tribal wars. They knew too that barbarian conquerors had always tried to overcome China and had repeatedly succeeded in founding dynasties. In other circumstances Mongol and Tibetan tribes had only kept quiet along the Chinese frontiers so long as China had been able to wield sufficient military power to impose peace on them. The Chinese also knew very well that Lamaism had never changed the predatory instincts of the barbarians, and that the lamas in Tibet and Huang-chung had been just as savage warriors as the laymen. Once in a while Hutukhtus had tried to mediate the troubles among the tribes, but other influential chiefs of tribes and persons of standing had also tried, with comparable results of success or failure.

It is asserted that the Yellow Sect became an important power among the barbarians from the time when Gushi Khan, after conquering Tibet, installed the Dalai Lama as temporal chief of the country (1636), and that the Manchu dynasty recognized the fact. Before that time Lamaism was divided into sects, which supported the numerous political parties in the country fighting for supremacy. By mixing in politics and wars, and because of lack of unity, the influence of the sects was dissipated. The chiefs of the sects, however, craving titles and privileges, curried the favor of the emperors. The emperors were happy to comply with their requests, appreciating the asset of having friendly disposed influential chiefs in far-off countries, but always waited for an opportunity to use them to further the interests of the empire.

It was in this way that the Ming emperors (1368–1643) favored the lamas in Huang-chung, whatever their sect, by lavishly granting titles and privileges, and contributing to the building of monasteries in order to populate the desolate country, and to keep the Mongol tribes quiet after the overthrow of the Yüan dynasty.

Later on, when Lamaism had become a real power, the Ch'ing dynasty engaged in war with the Kalmuks or Western Mongols. Well aware of the influence which the Yellow Sect wielded among the eastern and western Mongols and its questionable behavior toward the empire, the Ch'ing dynasty imposed its authority on Lhasa by means of its armies, but at the same time granted favors and privileges to the lamas.

The institution of the committee for the translation into Mongol and the printing of Tibetan books dates from the Manchu period. This was a remarkable political provision. The most celebrated and learned lamas and Hutukhtus of the monasteries of Tibet,

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Huang-chung, and Mongolia were appointed members of the committee. They were showered with honorific titles and privileges, and summoned to reside at the capital. The emperors lavishly provided for their expenses and those of their numerous disciples, and secured large temples and residences for their sojourn. The Mongol princes and the lamas of Tibet and Mongolia were elated with the generosity of the emperors and the keen interest and sympathy they displayed for their religion and for their spiritual chiefs. The emperors were happy too, realizing that it paid large dividends to have the most important and esteemed representatives of the lamaseries residing at the capital, in effect as honorable hostages, who had to ask the permission of the emperor every time they wanted to leave the capital.

However, these imperial generosities did not interfere with the strong policy implemented by the court in dealing with Tibet and Mongolia. They did not hinder the court in banishing the seventh Dalai Lama to Ssu-ch'üan, or in refusing to comply with the request of the "specially honored" Changchia Hutukhtu, to return to the Dalai Lama the regions of Li t'ang and Ba t'ang. They did not prevent the court from drastically crushing the lama revolt in Huang-chung (1723), or from burning all the monasteries in the country, even those of the "specially honored" Changchia. Later, at the request of the "beloved" Changchia and T'u-kuan, the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok were allowed to be rebuilt. The emperor offered a contribution *ad hoc*, but two steles were to be erected recording the ungratefulness of the lamas and the new humiliating provisions for the lamas by decree of the court. The steles were erected, but built inside a wall and plastered by the lamas so that nobody could read the texts.

The policy of the emperors in promoting Lamaism has to be studied in the light of the facts. They were well aware of the predatory instincts and fickleness of the barbarians, and of the influence the lamas wielded among them. In order to further their own interests and to gain the sympathy of the barbarians, they lavished on the lamas the titles and privileges which they childishly craved; but they were not afraid to deal with the lamas and barbarians with draconian severity, whenever their behavoir was not in line with the imperial policy. An iron hand was in the velvet glove.

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO TRANSFORM THE MONGUOR SOCIETY

This study also sheds light on the failure of Lamaism to transform the Monguor society into a genuine Buddhist society. In view of the really amazing bloom of Lamaism of the Yellow Sect in Huang-chung between 1600 and 1723, when more than forty monasteries were built in that relatively small country during that short span of time, and taking into account the tremendous number of lamas enrolled in them—one lama at least from every family—and the honors, titles, and privileges

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granted to the religious chiefs, one could easily suppose that the entire population must have become fervent Lamaists, and that an all-pervading energy radiating from Lamaism must have animated the entire social, family, and clan system. It is easy to suppose that Lamaism, controlling all the levers of power and wealth, and ruling over its own subjects, must have penetrated all the relations of life and colored all the institutions, producing uniformity in religious thinking, improving customs, and eliminating all kinds of unorthodox doctrines.

However, this is thinking in terms of what Christianity performed in the Middle Ages when the corporations, the guilds, the feudal system, the monarchy, the social habits of the people, their studies, even their amusements all stemmed from the same ecclesiastical teaching, when the church was the very heart of Christianity. The present study reveals that Lamaism was far from being the center of the religious life in the Monguor society, and that it did not succeed in eliminating shamanism. Even the coloring of the old religious rites, performed by the chiefs of the villages or the chiefs of the families, though tinged with Lamaism, did not succeed in making the Monguors live in a genuine Lamaist atmosphere.

The most baffling fact, after so many centuries, is that the temple of the community in all the Monguor villages is not dedicated to a Lamaist deity, but to Taoist or shamanist deities. In many villages a Lamaist temple was built next to the community temple, but it was never the center of the official religious activities of the villagers. More astonishing is the fact that the religious activities conducted in the village temple on behalf of the community are never performed by lamas, but by shamans or by the chiefs of the villages.

The most important rite of the year is celebrated in the spring in the village temple, in order that the harvest will be blessed. It is attended by the entire community and is performed by "shamans" who invite Taoist and shamanist spirits, *with the exclusion of Lamaist deities,* to preside over the rite and to extend their protection over the harvest.

The elaborate rites devised to obtain protection against the terrible scourge of hailstorms are performed by shamans. The Lamaist rite of the procession with the 108 sacred books is merely added as an extra precaution.

The most important rite celebrated with devotion by each family for its guardian spirit is performed by shamans, because most of these spirits are Taoist or shamanist.

Lamaism not only met with dismal failure in its struggle for the eviction of these all-important shamanist rites, but it never succeeded in impressing a Lamaist interpretation on the old rites performed by the chiefs of the villages or the chiefs of the families.

The thanksgiving rites for the harvest, performed in

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the village temple by the chief of the village, and by each family chief on the roof of his home, are not enacted with gratitude to Buddha. The presence of the shamans in the village temple on this occasion, does not seem to be related to the ceremony, as already explained. Nor did the lamas take over the rite of the sacred animals, so important to the Monguors. This rite is still performed by the chiefs of the villages, or the chiefs of families, who consecrate their herds to the protector spirits of their villages or of their families. Buddha is not substituted as protector of the herds.

The daily morning Wei-sang, an offering and invocation to "Heaven and all the spirits" performed by all the family chiefs, has never been changed into an offering and an invocation to Buddha, although some Om Manis are added, especially at times of trouble in the family.

After the cult of the Obo has been performed by the chiefs of the villages, some lamas chant texts in honor of the "Obo Spirits." Lamas do not interfere with the cult of the fire or the cult of the hearth god; neither do they pray for the blessings of Buddha upon marriages, nor have they endeavored to make the Monguors change the famous formula, "Heaven and all the spirits," into a formula invoking Buddha.

However, when troubles occur which disturb and frighten the families, the Monguors indiscriminately have recourse to lamas, shamans, or Kurtains, inviting those deemed to be the most potent in subduing evil spirits, or in propitiating the infuriated good spirits.

The only field reserved entirely for the activities of the lamas is that of the incineration of people who died peacefully. Shamans take care of the abodes of the wicked souls.

It is clear, therefore, that an all-pervading energy did not radiate from Lamaism to animate the entire social and family life. The cult of Lamaist deities, mixed with that of good and evil spirits, did not create an atmosphere in which Lamaism could produce uniformity in religious thinking and penetrate all the relations of life. If we add the fact that no churches existed where the Monguors could pray in groups and receive religious instruction, it is no wonder that the impact of Lamaism was not intensive.

However, the impact of the daily relations of the Monguors with their lama sons, uncles and relatives, the fast rites, is not to be overlooked, for it accounts for the fact that general Lamaist notions about the Buddhist heavens and their eighteen hells, the paradise of the benevolent Buddha, the terrible judgment of the acts of everybody after death, reincarnation, the sense of responsibility, did penetrate to a certain extent into Monguor society. The endless repetition of the Om Mani formula by lamas and their affirmation that salvation is only possible by recourse to the benevolent Buddha, who is always ready to forgive, to help, and to save anybody, account for the fantastic use of the Om Mani in the daily life of the Monguors, living in a world of fear

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and apprehension of evil spirits. The emotional factor 771
inherent in Lamaism, stimulating the gratifying hope of salvation in the presence of Buddha in his paradise, is not deemed by them to be incompatible with the performance of shamanist rites and with the worshipping of shamanist and Taoist spirits. The various reincarnations of outstanding and minor Living Buddhas within the Monguor clans and the families of the clan chiefs, explain the fact that Lamaist deities have been chosen as guardian deities of the clans, and that a temple had been built for them in the mansion of the clan chief. However, this did not bother the clan chiefs in worshipping the clan ancestors, with a display of pomp and magnificence, with all their subjects.

In conclusion it must be said that Lamaism has not

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succeeded either in uprooting the shamanist and Taoist rites practiced by the Monguors or in penetrating all the relations of life, but that by adding its new rites to the existing ones it did succeed in stimulating the element of religiousness among the Monguors, in laying stress upon new notions of responsibility, heaven and hell, in giving better moral guidance to the acts of daily life, and finally, in giving some meaning to life, which shamanism had never done. Lamaism did not attain its goal of transforming the Monguor society as did Christianity in the societies of the Middle Ages. More could hardly have been expected from Lamaism debased as it was by Tantrism, whose chiefs in Huang-chung themselves indulged in shamanist practices when they felt the pressure of an emergency.

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/Kansu Monguors/

have very scanty beards, and there is seldom any growth of hair on the body.

e. economic activities

The Mongours gave up their nomadic way of life and became farmers. They cultivate barley, wheat, peas, rapeseed, colza, hemp and potatoes. The second important economic resource is livestock, consisting of horses, cows, mules, pigs and sheep. The Mongours are also good hunters and fishermen. The Mongours now live in brick and mud houses resembling their former tent (yurt).

Until recently the Mongours wore their national costumes. However, when the Communists took over they ordered them to wear only Chinese clothing.

By religion, the Mongours are Lamaist-Buddhists.

2. Other groups

Besides the Mongours, there are Ölöts and Torguts living in Kansu. They are similar in all respects to the Olots and Torguts of Sinkiang.

C. The Mongols of Chinghai

1. General characteristics

Due to the new partition of the province, some of the Mongours now belong to Chinghai Province. Very little is known about the Eastern Mongols living around the Tsaidam and Kokonor areas. However, all explorers' reports say that they have become more and more Tibetanized and are forgetting their own Mongolian language. They are still pastoral nomads like the Ölöts and the Torguts of Sinkiang.

2. Hordes

When Tafel (between 1905 and 1908) travelled in the Chinghai area he found the following groups of Mongols:

(1) Wang-ka or the horde of the Chinghai Wang, consisting of 150-350 families, of which one group nomadized on the Dulan-gol, west of the Kokonor, and the other group lived around the monasteries of Gomba-soma and Minia-ta;

(2) the horde of the Muri Wang, about 50 families, which nomadized on the upper course of the Ta-tung River;

(3) the horde of the Kukut Bei-le, about 200 families, which nomadized around the Serkhe-nor, northeast of the Tsaidam swamps;

(4) the horde of the Kurluk Bei-tse, about 800 families which nomadized around the Bagha Tsaidam area;

(5) the horde of the Merkhe Bei-tse westwards of 4; there is no information about population figures.

(6) the horde of Shui-hia Bei-tse in the valley above Bamba; there is no further information about population figures.

(7) the horde of the Gobi Gung, which nomadized in the area of Tankar;